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Eucharistic Paradigms in the Didache Correlated to Paradigms in the "New Testament"

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Eucharistic Paradigms in the *Didache*
Correlated to Paradigms in the "New Testament"

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of the Seminary
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Theological Studies

by

Emmet S. R. Southwick

Vancouver, Washington

April 30, 2004

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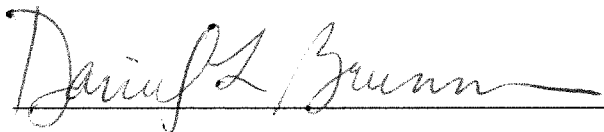
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Title: EUCHARISTIC PARADIGMS IN THE *DIDACHE*, CORRELATED
TO PARADIGMS IN THE 'NEW TESTAMENT'

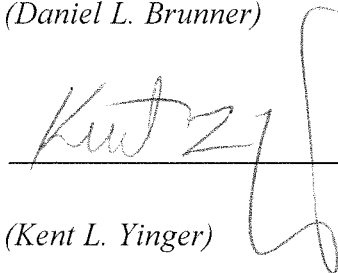
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Date: April 30, 2004

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.



(Daniel L. Brunner)



(Kent L. Yinger)

S. R. Southwick – 2004

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Statement: We contend that it is possible to articulate a viable correlation between eucharistic accounts in the "New Testament" and the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10, by way of the various words spoken over the elements of cup and bread.

Summary Statement: This paper addresses eucharistic constructs found in *Didache* chapters 9 and 10. An initial chapter lays a foundation for discussion with a general treatment of the *Didache* as a whole. The second chapter provides a translation of the focal chapters and correlates them with broader observations from the first chapter. A third chapter engages various scholastic efforts relevant to the thesis, and the final chapter presents a speculative model as a demonstration of the thesis statement.

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

My first acquaintance with the text of the *Didache* came some seven years ago, in my first year of graduate work at Warner Pacific College. Now, in 2004, I am teaching at that same institution, and submitting a graduate thesis upon a text in that same document. Life has framed a fine chiasm, though the integers have requalified over the years.

This paper will engage a variety of integers related to the text of *Didache* chapters 9 and 10. In order to properly understand this passage, we will need to consider numerous factors and evidences. Our first chapter will engage the *Didache* as a whole, establishing a broader context. Chapter two will provide a close examination of our focal text and correlate it with previous observations from chapter one. Following this, chapter three will survey a number of scholastic perspectives that are relevant to our focal text. Our final chapter will articulate an original, hypothetical model. This model may contribute to better understanding of certain features in our passage. In the end, we may find that various integers, familiar to many people, have been requalified in light of chapters 9 and 10 of the *Didache*.

Before we begin, a few procedural notes are in order. A great deal has been written on the *Didache*, and I will not pretend to have engaged every work relevant to our study. A number of works are in languages either inaccessible or inconvenient to my humble self, and so the sources used for this project are for the most part limited to those written in English. Exceptions to this rule are occasional materials in French, and resources appropriate for study and/or translation of primary texts in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew. All passages from the *Didache* and from texts within the Protestant biblical

canon have been translated from original languages. For the *Didache*, I have used the critical edition of Andre Tuilier as my authoritative source.¹ For the Hebrew scriptures, I have relied upon the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, and for the "New Testament," the *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th edition).² My primary resource for Septuagintal studies has been Lancelot Brenton, used together with the Hatch-Redpath concordance.³ For Philo, I have relied upon the Loeb Classical Library series, used together with the helpful index by Borgen, Fuglseth, and Skarsten.⁴ For texts amongst the "Apostolic F-th-rs," I have used the Loeb Classical Library edition by Kirsopp Lake, together with Goodspeed's index.⁵

¹ Willy Rordorf and Andre Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apotres* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1978).

² K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, *et al.*, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1977); Barbara and Kurt Aland, *et al.*, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edition (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

³ Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The "Septuagint" with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, Ltd., 1851; repr. Hendrickson Publishers, 1999); Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *et al.*, *A Concordance to the Septuagint: and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the apocryphal books)*, second edition (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998).

⁴ Philo, *Philo*, vol. I, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929); *Philo*, vol. II, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929); *Philo*, vol. III, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930); *Philo*, vol. IV, revised version, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939); *Philo*, vol. V, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1934); *Philo*, vol. VI, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935); *Philo*, vol. VII, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937); *Philo*, vol. VIII, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939); *Philo*, vol. IX, revised version, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954); *Philo*, vol. X, trans. F. H. Colson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Peder Borgen, *et al.* *The Philo Index: a complete Greek word index to the writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company / Leiden: Brill, 2000).

⁵ Kirsopp Lake, trans., *The Apostolic F-th-rs*, vol. I (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912); *The Apostolic F-th-rs*, vol. II (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913); Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Index P-tristicus: sive clavis P-trum Apostolicorum operum (ex editione minore Gebhardt Harnack Zahn; lectionibus editionum minorum Funk et Lightfoot admissis)*, Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., edition. Pr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1993.

Unless otherwise indicated, references to works amongst the corpus of the “Ante-Nicene F-th-rs” are drawing upon the standard publication in English, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson.⁶ For early rabbinic literature, I have used English editions by Jacob Neusner.⁷

Finally, a number of terms in this paper have been rendered incompletely (*e. g.*, “f-th-rs,” “D—n-s-s,” “G-d,” “d-v-n-,” *etc.*). This artifice tries to mitigate the use of terms that are religiously objectionable, but difficult to work around in one’s writing.⁸ Like most compromises, this may displease some and annoy others – and for completely different reasons.

⁶ *Ante-Nicene F-th-rs: the writings of the f-th-rs down to A. D. 325*, rev. A. Cleveland Coxe (Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885-87; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995). I have also made use of this resource in a number of other editions, including an electronic edition available from *The Master Christian Library*, v. 5 (Albany, OR: Ages Software).

⁷ *The “Mishnah”: a new translation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988); *The “Tosefta”: translated from the Hebrew with a new introduction* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 2002).

⁸ My reasoning here draws upon principles in *Matthew* 23:9, and in *Exodus* 23:13 (in light of some etymological histories).

A paper of this length naturally owes many acknowledgements to others. First, I should mention the many scholars and students whose works have illuminated my labors. Many of these individuals receive a nod in footnotes below; others, however, may be slighted even this minor credit. After years of studying the *Didache*, I cannot always remember whence I first obtained certain insights. In other cases, the significance of some data or comments may not have dawned upon me until after I had removed from them and found it challenging to relocate them. Beyond this, I fear that in a handful of instances my own negligence in notetaking may have robbed parties of acknowledgement that should otherwise have been theirs, which I truly regret.

Naturally, I owe thanks to my faculty readers at George Fox Evangelical Seminary, Drs. Daniel Brunner and Kent Yinger. I also extend thanks to Justin Haskell for reading draft materials and giving feedback, and to Drs. Stephen Carver and Steven Lewis at Warner Pacific College, who reviewed an earlier variation on the model in chapter four of the present paper. For graciously allowing me their time and insights in personal interviews, I thank Dr. Stephen Delamarter of George Fox Evangelical Seminary and Rabbi Leonard Oppenheimer of Congregation Kesser Israel in Portland, Oregon.

I would be seriously remiss if I did not mention my gratitude to Brice Tennant, who has been an ongoing source of support and a patient audience for matters, academic and otherwise, related to this thesis. Thank you, my friend. Sincere thanks also to my parents, who equipped me early on with knowledge both sacred and secular, and who taught me to care about religious matters.

And finally, thanksgiving and much, much more to the one who makes religious matters worth caring about. In the course of this project, I have repeatedly encountered serendipitous resources and evidences, and in such cases appreciation and wonder flow all the more naturally to the giver. And yet, of course, the advent of every good work belongs to the author of creation.

To the one who is gracious to his lowly creature

who is the source of life and knowledge

who has articulated in enduring wisdom the sacred and the obscene

and who is not cowed by human stature or tradition

may the work herein contribute to his satisfaction

and his glory amongst humanity.

Amen.

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Chapter One

An Introduction to the *Didache*

1.1 -- CHAPTER OVERVIEW

This chapter will provide an introduction to the source document under consideration. We will begin with a survey of extant manuscript sources for the *Didache*. Then, we will survey the document and highlight distinguishing characteristics. The final segment of the chapter will engage standard historical-critical issues. The chapter as a whole will furnish documentary background appropriate for engaging our focal passage.

1.2 -- SURVEY OF TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR THE *DIDACHE*

MANUSCRIPT H (C)

The modern history of the *Didache* began in 1873 with a landmark discovery by Philotheos Bryennios, a Greek Orthodox priest and scholar.¹ In a monastery belonging to the Jerusalem Patriarchate, Bryennios came across a small codex of Greek documents related to the early church.² The volume included remarkable new manuscript evidence for *I* and *II Clement*, and Bryennios published its text for these epistles in 1875.³

¹ Material in this subsection draws repeatedly upon Kurt Niederwimmer, *The "Didache": a commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), p. 19f.; M. B. Riddle, "Introductory Notice to the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson *et al.*, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. VII (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, repr. 1985), p. 372; Charles Taylor, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with Illustrations from the Talmud" in Brent S. Walters, ed., *"Didache": the unknown teaching of the twelve apostles* (San Jose: The Ante-Nicene Archive, 1991), p. 155; Phillip Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual: called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885, repr. London: Pendleburys, 2001), pp. 1ff., 8f. See also here Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 289ff. *N. b.*, Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The "Didache": its Jewish sources and its place in early Judaism and Christianity* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum / Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), pp. 16ff.

A particularly interesting source is Edmund A. Grosvenor's open letter to *The Century* in 1885, describing his acquaintance with Bryennios and the *Didache* manuscript; available from [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/ncps:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(ABP2287-0030-38\)\)::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/ncps:@field(DOCID+@lit(ABP2287-0030-38))::) & [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/ncps:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(ABP2287-0030-39\)\)::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/ncps:@field(DOCID+@lit(ABP2287-0030-39))::); Internet; accessed 2 July 2001.

² Grosvenor's letter states the monastery belonged to the Patriarchate, though located in Constantinople [*sic*].

³ Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 3f.

However, the trove was far from exhausted. The codex held another item of momentous value to early Christian studies -- an unfamiliar document entitled ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, *i. e.*, [the] *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. In time, Bryennios realized that this text was also significant, and he brought it to publication in late 1883. This excited a flurry of interest, and by the close of the following year dozens of titles had appeared concerning the new document.⁴

The Bryennios codex, conventionally denoted "H," bears a colophon identifying its penman and its age: "Finished in [the] month of June ... of [the] year 6564, by [the] hand of Leon, notary and sinner."⁵ By modern reckoning, this would date the completion of the codex to A.D. 1056.⁶ There has been no substantial challenge to the veracity of the colophon, and since the whole volume seems to feature the same handwriting, the portion preserving the *Didache* may be considered contemporaneous with it.

The technical quality of the manuscript appears to be quite satisfactory. The work of the scribe has been described in positive terms as careful, neat, and accurate, with few obvious errata.⁷ Generally, H seems to be a fair medieval witness to the text of the *Didache*.

⁴ For appraisal of Bryennios' work, see John Wordsworth, "Christian Life, Ritual, and Discipline at the Close of the First Century," in Brent S. Walters, ed., *"Didache": the unknown teaching of the twelve apostles* (San Jose: The Ante-Nicene Archive, 1991), pp. 52f. See also Riddle, "Notice," pp. 372f.; Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 10ff., 140ff.

⁵ Robert A. Kraft, *The Apostolic F-th-rs / a new translation and commentary*, vol. 3 (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965), p. 17; Schaff, *Manual*, p. 7; Wordsworth, "Christian Life," p. 53. The manuscript is denoted "C" in other literature.

Schaff's clarification of the Greek colophon runs: "Ἐτελειωθη μηνι Ιουνιω εις την ια, ημεραν Γ'. Ινδικτ. Θ', ετους σϛϛξδ', χειρι Λεωντος νοταριου και αλειτου."

⁶ J. Rendel Harris, "The Genuineness, Priority, Source, and Value of The Teaching" in Brent S. Walters, ed., *"Didache": the unknown teaching of the twelve apostles* (San Jose: The Ante-Nicene Archive, 1991), p. 117.

⁷ Schaff, *Manual*, p. 2; Jonathan A. Draper, "The *Didache* in Modern Research: an overview" in Jonathan A. Draper, ed., *The "Didache" in Modern Research* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), p. 1.

TEXTUAL SOURCE P

For nearly forty years, Bryennios' codex provided the only direct textual evidence for the *Didache*, but in 1922 a limited amount of new source material came to light.⁸ In that year, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt published two Greek fragments discovered at Oxyrhynchus, apparently from a codex of the late fourth century. The scribal character of these remnants has been described as irregular and uncultured, which would befit a pious but unlearned monastic transcription.⁹

Denoted in major works as "P," the fragments preserve only brief segments of text amounting to a total of 64 words. Yet, though scanty, these remnants are still noteworthy. To begin with, they provide evidence some 650 years older than that of H -- a concrete challenge to suspicions that the latter might be a medieval forgery.

Furthermore, the text of P differs from that of H on a number of points. On the one hand, P features some supplemental material, including a major expansion and what appears to be an inserted clarification. On the other hand, some facets of P seem less refined than their counterparts in H, pointing to a more primitive recension than that of either manuscript.¹⁰ Of course, both forms of variance may contribute to textual criticism, but the brevity of P impairs assessment of its character, limiting its usefulness in this regard.¹¹

⁸ Material in this subsection draws repeatedly upon Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 21ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 22ff.; Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 57; Willy Rordorf and Andre Tuilier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apotres* ("*Didache*") (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1978), pp. 111f. See also here Draper, "Modern Research," p. 1.

⁹ Regarding Oxyrhynchus, S. Vailhe has noted that "at the end of the fourth century ... monastic huts exceeded in number its ordinary dwellings." "Oxyrhynchus," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911 ed., repr. 1913. Vailhe is apparently drawing from Rufinus of Aquileia on this point.

¹⁰ Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 22ff. The most striking example: P's φιλεῖτε, vs. αγαπατε in H.

¹¹ van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 18.

COPTIC EVIDENCE

The 1920s were fruitful for study of the *Didache*, as more evidence emerged swiftly upon the heels of P.¹² In 1924, G. Horner published a segment of text found in Coptic.¹³ This piece has been assigned to the fifth century, joining P as an early witness for the *Didache*.¹⁴

The written product itself features a curious layout, with portions written in different-sized font and an abrupt termination mid-sentence despite plenty of remaining space. This has prompted speculation about the work's original function, with a number of scholars considering it an excerpt done for scribal exercise.¹⁵ Regarding the linguistic background of the text, both Greek and Syriac precursors have been put forth as potential sources for the version, and an intervening shift from one Coptic dialect to another has also been suggested.

The not-quite-twenty verses of the Coptic evidence do not overlap the sparse remnants of P, but their text does provide a significant counterpoint to H.¹⁶ One obvious distinctive is the inclusion of a chrismatic paradigm which, though considered original by some, has been exposed as an interpolation.¹⁷ Occasional "amen"s also appear to have been inserted in a liturgically natural

¹² Material in this subsection draws repeatedly upon van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 24f.; Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 24ff.

¹³ Draper, "Modern Research," p. 1; F. Stanley Jones and Paul Mirecki, "Considerations on the Coptic Papyrus of the *Didache* (British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271)" in Clayton N. Jefford, ed. *The "Didache" in Context: essays on its text, history, and transmission* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), pp. 48ff. Horner's work was promptly superseded in the following year by C. Schmidt's corrected edition.

¹⁴ Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations," pp. 47, 50. The Coptic evidence is even more valuable than P in this respect, since it preserves material unrelated to the "Two Ways" construct (concerning which see pp. 10 & 11 below).

¹⁵ Draper, "Modern Research," p. 3.

¹⁶ James Donaldson, ed., contrib. M. B. Riddle, *et al.*, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. VII (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, repr. 1985), pp. 380f.; Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations," pp. 52ff.; Kraft, *Fathers*, p. 57.

¹⁷ For arguments on this issue, see Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 166; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 25, 299. Credit for a particularly strong argument against the prayer as original apparently belongs to A. Voobus.

fashion.¹⁸ In contrast, however, at least one element of the Coptic text preserves a more primitive reading than its parallel in H.¹⁹ Other facets simply illuminate points of scribal error in H.

LESSER MATERIALS

Before proceeding to evaluate the body of evidence, a number of lesser witnesses to the text of the *Didache* should be mentioned. Collations from a Georgian version have appeared in twentieth-century publications, but the line of manuscript transmission is questionable and cannot be traced beyond the nineteenth century at best.²⁰ Also, two portions of the *Didache* have been grafted somewhat periphrastically and without citation into the *Ethiopic Canones Ecclesiastici*, an Ethiopian church manual derived from Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*.²¹

Additional, indirect testimony may be culled from Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which has cannibalized the *Didache* in more-or-less its entirety. Its adaptation involves copious biblical prooftexting, as well as a number of adjustments consonant with its fourth-century Gentile milieu.²² As such, the reconstituted work serves for an interpretive barometer, highlighting primitive facets of the earlier text-form that fell out of style.

¹⁸ Q. v., Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations," pp. 52f.

¹⁹ Cf. Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 26. I am disagreeing at this point with Niederwimmer's assessment of $\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$ $\tau\omega$ $\sigma\iota\kappa\omega$ $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$ in 10:6. This seems to be a more primitive coloration than $\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\nu\alpha$ $\tau\omega$ $\theta\epsilon\omega$ $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$ as found in H. The reading $\sigma\iota\kappa\omega$ seems more pointedly messianic, and thus less universal in scope than $\theta\epsilon\omega$. Cf. Charles Cutler Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels: some of the evidence* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1936), pp. 20ff.

²⁰ Material in this subsection draws repeatedly upon Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 26ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 25ff.; Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 57ff. See also here Draper, "Modern Research," pp. 1f. For an extended discussion of the Georgian version and a presentation of its text, see Jean-Paul Audet, *La "Didache": Instructions des Apotres* (Paris: J. Gabalda et C^{ie}, 1958), pp. 45ff.

²¹ For discussion of the *Canones*, see Audet, "*Didache*," pp. 34ff.

²² James Donaldson, ed., contrib. M. B. Riddle, "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles" in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene F-th-rs*, vol. VII (repr. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 465ff. With regard to date, note the intrusion of elevationist Christology and corporeal imagery for the Eucharist. Q. v., *Constitutions* 7:25ff. For Gentile concerns, consider the supersessionist argument and the major gloss regarding food taboos. Q. v., *Constitutions* 7:24 & 20. See also van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 27.

Constitutions Book VII does hold some value for textual criticism despite its heavy adaptation, as its relative consonance with varying witnesses can yield insight into the textual history of the *Didache*. Its edited form may also suggest viable corrections to errata that might have intruded into other text-traditions.

CONCLUSIONS

As the foregoing survey reveals, textual sources for the *Didache* are regrettably limited. Some scholars have shown a marked preference for one source over another.²³ However, methodological preference for any one witness seems imprudent at present. The field of available evidence is simply too sparse to determine a "normative" text -- if, indeed, one ever existed.²⁴ And yet, there are sufficient clues to indicate that no single witness is utterly primitive in text-form. For the time being, a more balanced approach to textual study seems appropriate: employing critical methods to make careful use of the entire *corpus* available.²⁵ For our focal section of the *Didache*, this will involve manuscript H, the Coptic evidence, and *Apostolic Constitutions* Book VII.²⁶

²³ For strong preferential support of H, see van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 16ff. For skeptical appraisals of H, see Draper's survey in "Modern Research," pp. 2f. See also Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 20f.; Boudewijn Dehandschutter, "The Text of the *Didache*: some comments on the edition of Klaus Wengst" in Clayton N. Jefford, ed., *The "Didache" in Context: essays on its text, history, & transmission* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 42; Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations," p. 84.

²⁴ Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 21; cf. van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 18. On the latter issue, see Kraft's concept of "evolved literature" in *F-th-rs*, pp. 1ff., also discussed below on p. 11. See also Niederwimmer's parenthetical observation on the fluidity of noncanonical text-types. "*Didache*," p. 20.

²⁵ Draper, "Modern Research," p. 3, presents this to be a mainstream opinion amongst scholars.

²⁶ Q. v., Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 52ff.

1.3 -- OVERVIEW OF THE *DIDACHE*

TITULAR ISSUES

We will turn now from textual issues to pursue an overview of the *Didache* as a whole. A first matter for attention is consideration of the document's title -- or more accurately, titles. Naturally, a title can be quite significant, as it may lend a tenor and even a vector to an entire work. The *Didache* appears to have been known under a number of titles, and as found in H the document features both an initial and a subsequent title, inscribed in different formats.²⁷

As noted above, the initial title for the *Didache* is *[The] Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.²⁸ The subsequent title is more elaborate: *[The] Teaching of [the] Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations*.²⁹ Estimates of these titles' relative originality have varied. Conventional historical-critical method would usually ascribe precedence to a shorter rendering, but in this case the longer title may have a closer relation to the main text.³⁰ Of course, the originality of the longer title would be pertinent to understanding the document's putative audience -- viz., whether or not the *Didache* was intended to address a Gentile community. The implications are provocative, but debatable. In the end, the layout may only indicate the predilection of the eleventh-century scribe.

²⁷ This subsection draws repeatedly on Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 140f.; Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 56f.; Draper, "Modern Research," p. 4; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 20f. See also here van de Sandt & Flusser, pp. 7, 17. The former title is set down in red ink, while the latter joins the common text in black. It is worth noting that the copyist also employs red ink to denote titles of "books used by the Hebrews" in a list found directly preceding the *Didache* (the key phrase is transcribed ονοματα των βιβλιων παρ' εβραιους). It may be suggested that the use of red ink might bear some relation to a sense of canonicity. It may also be significant that the initial title is situated on a line immediately following this catalog, with the subsequent title being written on the next line together with the main body of the text.

²⁸ Schaff, *Manual*, p. 9; Taylor, "Teaching," p. 155. See p. 3 above.

²⁹ διδαχη κυριου δια των δωδεκα αποστολων τοις εθνεσιν. "Nations," of course, could also be rendered as "Gentiles."

³⁰ The format in H suggests that the longer title may have a more direct association with the main body of text (*q. v.*, fn. 27). If so, the superinscribed title might be a functional abbreviation.

On a further point, writings from the early church may indicate that neither title in H holds precedence, but that *[The] Teaching of the Apostles* served for an original title.³¹ This title might identify the work as simply a legacy of the early missionary era -- a characterization quite befitting its content.³² Finessing the byline to indicate the "Twelve" apostles could be a natural development during subsequent transmission, both elevating the document's status and introducing a different εθος.

However, one should also consider that the shorter form employed by ecclesial writers could be a reductionist designation for a document of flexible title. Ultimately, the evidence may be construed to support a number of different conclusions, so we will do well to keep the various possibilities in mind.

STRUCTURAL OUTLINE

From the title, we may turn to look at the main body of the text. Based upon the form of H, which is generally paralleled by the adaptive *Constitutions*, we may note that the document consists of four major sections.³³ First, there is an extensive moral discourse on the dichotomy between good and evil, beginning with the declaration: "There are two ways -- one of life and one of death -- and [the] difference [is] great between the two ways."³⁴ Characteristics of each way are thereafter catenized.³⁵

³¹ Taylor, "Teaching," p. 192. Cf., however, Kraft's cautious assessment. *F-th-rs*, p. 73.

³² E. g., *Didache* 11:3ff. See also the discussions below on pp. 16f. concerning apostolic paradigms in the *Didache* and the issue of dating -- in the earliest church, the term "apostle" need not have carried the exceptional connotation of later times. Q. v., *Acts* 14:14; *II Corinthians* 8:23; *Romans* 16:7; also, fn. 67 below. Frederick William Danker, rev. & ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, third ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 122.

³³ Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 59; Donaldson, "Constitutions," pp. 465ff.; cf. Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 17, 28.

³⁴ *Didache* 1:1. Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 140f.

³⁵ *Didache* 1:2-5:2. Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 142ff.

The next major section of the document addresses ritual practices.³⁶ Baptism, fasting, prayer, and the Eucharist receive attention, with specific paradigms being introduced for each.

The third portion deals with practical issues of order amongst the fellowship.³⁷ Rubrics are presented for discerning the credibility of teachers, apostles, prophets, and visiting travellers. Principles are also established regarding material provision for these different parties. Afterwards, protocol for the weekly gathering is addressed, followed by exhortations to respect officers of the fellowship and to conduct proper disciplinary action.

The final section of the *Didache* presents a brief eschatological homily, which begins by emphasizing faithfulness in the penultimate days of trial.³⁸ The document concludes by prognosticating the rise of a world-deceiver and the vindication of truth in the Lord's coming.

This brief orientation gives us a suitable backdrop for closer inspection.

1.4 -- DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *DIDACHE*

COMPOSITE STRUCTURE

Upon examination of the *Didache*, it becomes apparent that a number of different sources are interposed amongst the text.³⁹ External evidence suggests that the moral dichotomy (commonly known as "the Two Ways") circulated independently at some point, and conventional wisdom holds

³⁶ This paragraph references *Didache* 6:1-10:7.

³⁷ This paragraph references *Didache* 11:1-15:4.

³⁸ This paragraph references *Didache* 16:1ff.

³⁹ Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp.1ff., 42ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 28ff.; Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 1ff., 59ff. Also Peter Kirby, "*Didache*"; available from <http://home.earthlink.net/~kirby/writings/didache.html>; Internet; accessed 19 July 2001. Also Ben H. Swett, "The *Didache* (The Teaching)," 30 January 1998; available from <http://shell1.dn.net/~bswett/Didache.html>; Internet; accessed 2 July 2001.

that it did so as a preexistent document, becoming part of the *Didache* only at a later date.⁴⁰ Also, two recurring intrusions are evident within the dichotomous section itself: one interjects with points of elaboration, including familiar *logia*; and another employs the distinctive address "My child."⁴¹

Another document may have been incorporated into the *Didache* as well. The eschatological portion seems sufficiently distinct from the preceding material to have been patchworked in from another source, albeit perhaps in condensed form.⁴²

The remainder of material within the document seems to be more fragmentary in nature. Some portions may have come from earlier documentary sources, but the task of distinguishing them as such is complicated. In some cases, brevity and incidental style make it difficult to discern between harvested material and editorial commentary. In others (*e. g.*, the paradigms for prayer), the genre of the selection allows for transmission in comparable form by either oral or documentary means.

By any appraisal, though, it may be recognized that the *Didache* draws from multiple antecedents, these being brought together for the later purposes of their compiler. This may have been accomplished in one compilative endeavor, or as Robert Kraft has suggested, the process may have extended over a period of time, with numerous contributors supplementing and/or redacting the text; Kraft terms works formed in such a manner "evolved literature."⁴³

⁴⁰ Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 6. There has been extensive study of the dichotomy and its relationship to the *Didache* and other ancient writings. However, the issue is not overly pertinent to our current inquiry. Major treatments of the issue may be found in Niederwimmer, van de Sandt & Flusser, and Kraft, amongst others.

⁴¹ Swett, "*Didache*"; Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 1, 68ff., 94ff.; Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 139ff., 146; Draper, "Modern Research," p. 22.

The former appears at *Didache* 1:3-6, 3:7-10, and 4:5-14. Verse 1:6 leads smoothly into 4:5, hinting at an original linear source, variously spliced. Some of the *logia* have parallels and/or roots in the gospels and in *Sirach*.

The latter surfaces in 3:1-6 and 4:1-4. These passages are conspicuously anomalous in style, and they overlap subject matter found subsequently in the primary catena on the "way of death." They introduce concepts which are more complex than the simple catenations, invoking behavioral tendency and addressing communal polity. As such, they constitute an obvious addition to the original dichotomy.

⁴² This assessment is strengthened by the recognition of the second verse as an editorial refinement.

⁴³ *Q. v.*, Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 1ff.

Accordingly, we may recognize that our focal passage does not necessarily enjoy an original relationship with other materials found in the *Didache*. As such, though the broader weave of the document as a whole may resonate with or highlight certain aspects of our passage's character, our passage may also be engaged with a measure of independence.

JEWISH HALLMARKS

Proceeding, then, from structural observations, it must be noted that the *Didache* incorporates a striking number of Jewish features. Some are quite generically Jewish, while others hold a Jewish-Christian flavor.

Generically Jewish features appear in various fashions. The instruction to pray three times daily, found in *Didache* 8:3, follows conventional Jewish piety.⁴⁴ Also, certain aphoristic forms in the *Didache* have parallels of varying significance in Jewish literature.⁴⁵ On a theological front, *Didache* 4:6 mentions almsgiving as a ransom for sin -- a concept found in popular Jewish literature of the Second Temple period.⁴⁶ Such facets carry a generically Jewish flavor.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ "The *Didache* with Commentary"; available from <http://www.icanect.net/~seraphim/didache.htm>; Internet; accessed 3 June 2002. Also A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development* (New York: Henry Holt and Co, Inc., 1932; repr. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995), pp. xviiiif.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 33.

Precedent for the ancient practice has been drawn from *Daniel* 6:10. Idelsohn notes that thrice-daily prayer services were enjoined at the so-called council of Jamnia (c. 100 CE). The reference to *Mishnah Berakhoth* 4:1 in van de Sandt & Flusser is worthy of notice as well.

⁴⁵ Q. v., *Didache* 1:2b, 3:1, 3:5, 4:1. Taylor, "Teaching," pp. 156ff.; David H. Stern, *Jewish New Testament Commentary* (Clarksville: Jewish New Testament Publications, Inc., 1992), p. 33; Swett, "*Didache*." One aphorism is far more significant than the others. Both Taylor and Lake observe that *Didache* 1:2b utilizes the negative form of the "Golden Rule" found in Jewish tradition, in contrast to the familiar positive form found in *Matthew* 7:12 and *Luke* 6:31. *F-th-rs*, vol. I, p. 309.

Taylor finds a parallel between rabbinic texts and the admonishment "[F]lee from all evil and that which is like unto it" in *Didache* 3:1. The point is debatable, as it depends on texts of much later date (*i. e.*, *Bavli Chullin* and *Av-th RN*). However, such texts may preserve aphorisms and concepts of indeterminate precedence, and at the very least, characteristic Hebraic parallelism may be recognized in the admonition. On a similar but more immediate tack, the teleological argumentation in *Didache* 3:2ff. is paralleled by Ben Azzai in the Mishnaic tractate *Pirke* 4:2.

⁴⁶ Harris, "Genuineness," pp. 134f. Pertinent examples would be *Sirach* 3:30 and *Tobit* 4:10.

We may acknowledge the parallel Harris cites in *II Clement* 16 without considering the stance to be common in early Christianity. Indeed, Harris notes that "charity of any kind as a factor in one's personal salvation, is a doctrine unknown in Pauline Christianity." Interestingly, the passage in *Tobit* 4 (which features other material offensive [CONT.]

Even more pronounced in the *Didache* are Jewish-Christian features. One such feature appears at *Didache* 8:1:

But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites (*i. e.*, playactors), for they fast [on the] second [day] of the week and [the] fifth [day of the week]. But you fast [on the] fourth [day of the week] and [the] Preparation [Day].⁴⁸

This passage is highly significant. In contrast to other early Christian writings, it does not simply denigrate Jewish custom. Rather, it impugns only those who are "playactors."⁴⁹ Also, tellingly, the pious Jewish convention of twice-weekly prayer is retained, yet reformatted; the result "at once conserves and condemns" Jewish propriety -- a stance befitting a Jewish-Christian milieu.⁵⁰

[CONT.] to Gentile sensibilities) has been excised in the \aleph text. George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Tobit" in *The HarperCollins Study Bible*, ed. Wayne A. Meeks *et al.* (HarperCollinsPublishers, 1993), pp. 1444f.; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 1208f.

For a lengthy treatment of the issue, see Roman Garrison, *Redemptive Almsgiving in Early Christianity*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 77 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., 1993).

⁴⁷ See also van de Sandt and Flusser, "*Didache*," for extensive treatment of Jewish characteristics.

⁴⁸ Αἱ δὲ νηστειαὶ ὑμῶν μὴ εἰσῶσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν νηστεύουσιν γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτῳ καὶ πέμπτῃ ἡμεῖς δὲ νηστεύομεν τετάρτῃ καὶ παρασκευῇ.

⁴⁹ The accusation of playacting may stem from the fact that the weekly fast-days correlated with the days of assembly for study, judicial proceedings, and market. Those who fasted on said days would have a maximized public audience. *Q. v.*, *Mishnah Ketuboth* 1:1; *Mishnah Megillah* 1:1ff.; *Mishnah Taanit* 1:6; cf. 2:9; cf. also *Tosefta Baba Mesia* 3:20. Van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 292; cf. Richard A. Horsley, *Archaeology, History, and Society in Galilee* (Harrisburg, PA: Tr-n-t- Press International, 1996), p. 74.

⁵⁰ Harris, "Genuineness," p. 133. Cf. John R. Mabry, "A Short Comparison of the *Didache* with the Canonical Record"; available from <http://www.apocryphile.net/jrm/articles/didache2.html>; Internet; accessed 2 July 2001. Mabry smirks, "[K]ind of ironic in that one shouldn't pray [*sic*] as the hypocrites do -- just switch days! It seems to miss the point." In this case, it is Mabry who misses the point. The problem at hand is ostentation, not the devotional practice itself; switching days -- and thus, visibility -- would both allow the worthy practice and safeguard humility (*q. v.*, fn. 49).

The reference to the "Preparation" is also noteworthy. Though the terminology does not necessarily predicate Sabbath-observance as a norm for the source community, it certainly draws upon a Jewish milieu.

We may also discern a Jewish-Christian tenor at *Didache* 6:2: "For if indeed you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be complete."⁵¹ The "yoke" imagery being employed here is rather more indicative of Jewish-Christianity than of its Gentile counterpart.⁵²

Furthermore, the exhortation in *Didache* 4:13 is also consistent with Jewish-Christian precedent: "You emphatically will not abandon [the] commandments of [the] Lord, but you will guard what you received: you neither add to nor are taking away."⁵³ This is a clear echo of Moses' instruction to Israel in *Deuteronomy* 4:2 and 12:32, but even more importantly, its mode of employment finds a parallel in *Revelation* 22:18f.⁵⁴ Of "New Testament" documents, *Revelation* is perhaps the most Jewish in character.

Similarly, the treatment of dietary standards at *Didache* 6:2f. features a harmonic with the stance of *Revelation*:

For if indeed you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be complete. But if you are not able to [do so], what you are able to [do], that do. But regarding that which is eaten, bear what you are able to; but [regarding withdrawal] from that sacrificed to idols be very attentive, for it is service of dead g-ds.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυλὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἐσθι.

⁵² The yoke is a negative illustrative concept in the Hebrew Scriptures, symbolizing enslavement and domination [e. g., *Leviticus* 26:13; *I Kings* 12:4ff.; *Jeremiah* 28:14]. This same negative imagery is applied to the Mosaic commandments in "New Testament" documents attendant to Gentile backgrounds [i. e., *Acts* 15:10; *Galatians* 5:1].

Jewish-Christian tradition, however, seems to have embraced a different "yoke" imagery. *Matthew* 11:29f. has Jesus stating that his yoke is useful and his freight is light. ὁ γὰρ ζυλὸς μου χρηστὸς καὶ τὸ φορτίον μου ελαφρόν ἐστιν. Although the passage may be attendant to a quasi-Johannine importation at 11:25ff., this is of little concern at this juncture -- the ultimate form of the most Jewish-Christian of canonical gospels construed the yoke as a positive image. Arguably, this stood to contrast with Gentile denigration of commandments through "yoke" imagery.

⁵³ Οὐ μὴ εγκαταλιπῆς ἐντολὰς κυρίου φυλάξεις δὲ ἅ παρῆλθες μὴτε προστιθεῖς μὴτε ἀφαιρῶν.

⁵⁴ Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, p. 164; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, pp. 112f.

⁵⁵ Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυλὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἐσθι. εἰ δὲ οὐ δύνασαι, ὁ δυνῶν, τοῦτο ποιεῖ. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως ὁ δύνασαι βαστάσων ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν προσέχε λατρεία γὰρ ἐστὶ θεῶν νεκρῶν. Cf. *Revelation* 2:14, 20, which also impugns the eating of food sacrificed to idols.

"Service" could also be rendered "worship." Arguably, "worship" represents a fitting implication, but "service" has merit as a more general rendering. With such, the issue could be extended beyond defilement of food to engage the revenue which its purchase might garner for pagan cultii -- an unwitting or indirect subsidy for the Deceiver.

The advisory to "bear what [one is] able to" may or may not be "Judaizing" in character.⁵⁶ But in any case, the concern over eating what is sacrificed to idols is noteworthy both in consonance and in contrast with other texts.⁵⁷ Notably, it bears a strong resemblance to Jewish Christianity as portrayed in the canonical book of *Acts*: lenient to some extent concerning dietary restrictions, with a major exception regarding food tainted by idolatrous rituals.⁵⁸

Furthermore, other similarities between materials in the *Didache* and canonical works also remain consonant with a Jewish-Christian character.⁵⁹ Parallels with the gospels correlate with the Synoptics to the striking neglect of *John*.⁶⁰ Notable parallels also exist with the epistle of *James*.⁶¹ Where materials have counterparts amongst the Pauline corpus, they generally consist of pious standards for morality and protocol, without extraneous distinctives.⁶²

⁵⁶ Cf. *Romans* 14:13ff.; *I Corinthians* 10:32. If the intent were "Judaizing," one might expect a more stringent demand; rather, the advisory here may be tendered for the sake of communal dynamics.

The meaning of "the whole yoke of the Lord" is debatable. In its present setting, it seems related to the dichotomous teaching which precedes it. However, the potential implication of comprehensive *Torah*-observance may have prompted the discussion of dietary standards which follows.

⁵⁷ *Q. v.*, *Acts* 15:20, 28f, and (again) *Revelation* 2:14, 20. Cf. also *I Corinthians* 10:14-30, which may or may not fall short of being "very attentive."

⁵⁸ *Q. v.*, *Acts* 15:19-21, 28f.; Taylor, "Teaching," pp. 170f. The leniency in *Acts* may, arguably, be limited to Gentile disciples. However, it is possible that the pertinent tradition behind *Didache* 6:3 derived from the missionary extension "to the nations" -- consider, for what it may be worth, the title immediately affixed to the *Didache* text in H. *Q. v.*, above, pp. 8f. In any case, even a temperate advocacy for dietary observance implies a Jewish-Christian influence.

⁵⁹ Materials in this subsection have drawn repeatedly upon marginal notes in Lake, *F-th-rs*, vol. I, pp. 308ff., and in Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 174ff. An exception to the Johannine neglect is discussed on pages 87ff. below.

⁶⁰ Concerning the precise relationship between the Synoptics and the *Didache*, see C. M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*" in Jean-Marie Sevrin, *The New Testament in Early Christianity: la reception des ecrits neotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitif* (Leuven University Press, 1989).

⁶¹ *Q. v.*, *James* 1:8, 4:8 & *Didache* 2:4, 4:4 and *James* 5:16 & *Didache* 4:14. One might also notice a certain resonance between themes in *James* 4:2-5:6 & *Didache* 5:1f.

⁶² Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 140ff. The strongest correlation is at *Didache* 4:9ff., which mirrors *Ephesians* 6:9 and parallels material in *Ephesians* 6 and *Colossians* 3 & 4. Parallels may also be found between *Didache* 12:4 and *II Thessalonians* 3:6ff., and between *Didache* 15:1 and *I Timothy* 3:2ff. The debated authorship of said epistles, however, may complicate the significance of these instances. [CONT.]

On a final note, there are also numerous parallels between materials in the *Didache* and the book of *Sirach* or *Ecclesiasticus*, a Jewish work highly esteemed by early Christians but ultimately proscribed by mainstream Judaism.⁶³ These parallels join with the aforementioned Jewish-Christian and generically Jewish features in establishing a strong Jewish presence within the *Didache*. In the next chapter, we will find that our focal passage shares in this trend.

PRIMITIVITY

Another distinctive of the *Didache* is a character of primitivity, manifested in a number of ways.⁶⁴ To begin with, the numerous Jewish hallmarks within the document may imply a certain primitivity, for as time progressed the increasingly Gentile church began to emphasize a more Hellenistic bent and accordingly downplayed or even vilified Jewish sensibilities.⁶⁵

A stronger element of primitivity is the apostolic role found in *Didache* 11:3ff. These verses deal with practical issues concerning visiting apostles, which would indicate a rather early milieu. For one, the mundane litmus test for recognizing an apostolic swindler presupposes an early setting, where the apostolic role was not associated with only a few well-known figures.⁶⁶

[CONT.] On other fronts, a certain harmonic may be found between *Didache* 11:7 and *I Thessalonians* 5:19ff. The parallels to *Romans* 1:29ff. at *Didache* 5:1f., however, are quite ephemeral. The Aramaic exclamation "Maranatha" appears in both *I Corinthians* and *Didache* 10, but by no means does this imply dependence.

None of the parallels involve distinctively Pauline themes; basically, they address common challenges faced by first-century Christian communities. Furthermore, the root ideals generally correlate to Jewish precursors: e. g., *Didache* 4:9ff./*Ephesians* 6 & *Colossians* 3, 4 to *Sirach* 7:20ff., *Proverbs* 13:24, 19:18, *Leviticus* 25:43, *Job* 31:13ff.; *Didache* 12:4//*III Thessalonians* 3:6ff. to *Proverbs* 10:26, 21:25f., 31:27; *Didache* 15:1//*I Timothy* 3:2ff. to *Exodus* 18:21ff., *Deuteronomy* 1:13, 15; *Didache* 11:7//*I Thessalonians* 5:19ff. to *Numbers* 11:16-29.

⁶³ Harrison, *Introduction*, p. 1231. Parallels include: *Sirach* 3:30 & *Didache* 4:6; *Sirach* 7:23ff. & *Didache* 4:9; *Sirach* 7:20f. (Heb.) & *Didache* 4:10; *Sirach* 2:12, 5:9 & *Didache* 1:1. See also Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 140ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 75f.

⁶⁵ Q. v., *Epistle to Diognetus* 3:1-4:6; cf. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 47. On the other hand, it may be recognized that Jewish-Christian groups continued into at least the fourth century; see Ray A. Pritz, *Nazarene Jewish Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1992), p. 108.

⁶⁶ Q. v., *Didache* 11:4ff., where fraudulent apostles give themselves away by mooching too long off the community and/or asking for money.

Also significant is the treatment accorded to apostles: though they are welcomed with respect, they are not allowed to linger for more than a few days. This seems to contrast with the elevated concept of apostleship attendant to the later dogma of apostolic succession, but does fit with an earlier, aniconic understanding of "apostle" in its most basic form -- as one who is sent out, which is to say, a missionary.⁶⁷ Arguably, the apostles in *Didache* 11 are not tolerated in residence because their ministerial purpose is to go out unto the ends of the earth, proclaiming the gospel.⁶⁸ Such a concept of apostleship would befit primitive thought in the church, antedating theological developments which elevated apostleship far beyond its original stature; as such, this marker would probably indicate a date prior to the early third century.⁶⁹

On a further note, the protocols concerning prophets found in *Didache* 11:3ff. and 13:1ff. treat prophetic ministry as an extant part of the faith community, wrestling with how to recognize charlatans and providing for the subsidization of true prophets. Admittedly, these passages might be ascribed to a Montanist source, which could attenuate their primitivity.⁷⁰ However, although there are points of resonance between the *Didache* and Montanist sensibilities, a Montanist background falls short of being probable for a number of reasons.⁷¹ As such, the protocols in

⁶⁷ Q. v., Joseph H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (repr. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1977), pp. 67f.; Danker, *Lexicon*, p. 122.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Mark* 6:6ff.; *Luke* 10:1ff.; *Matthew* 28:16ff.

⁶⁹ The concept of apostolic succession becomes evident in writers of the late second century CE. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, revised edition (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1978), pp. 35ff.; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition / A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 108ff. Shortly thereafter, Hippolytus' closure of the prophetic ministry marks a consolidation of power into the line of apostolic succession, and a concomitant exaltation of the apostolic office. See fn. 72 below.

⁷⁰ Montanist attribution was introduced by R. H. Connolly, and later taken up by F. E. Vokes, who cited previous observations in this vein by Hilgenfeld. Q. v., Draper, "Modern Research," pp. 11f.; Vokes, *The Riddle of the "Didache"* (London: SPCK, 1938), pp. 129, 135. Cf. Schaff, *Manual*, p. 120. Henry Chadwick mentions a Montanist foothold in Asia Minor lasting into the third century. *The Early Church* (Penguin, 1967; repr. 1974), p. 52.

⁷¹ Materials in this footnote draw upon both text and primary sources referenced in David W. Bercot, ed. *A Dictionary of Early Christian Beliefs: a reference guide to more than 700 topics discussed by the early church fathers* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1998), pp. 460ff.; John Chapman, "Montanists," [CONT.]

chapters eleven and thirteen connote an early setting, prior to the third century and the mothballing of prophetic ministry in favor of hierarchical agency.⁷²

On a related point, one may also venture that the hierarchical structure found in *Didache* 15:1f. is consonant with a two-tiered model of hierarchy found in other early church documents, as opposed to the *ordo triplex* which appears to dominate by the beginning of the third century.⁷³

Finally, it may be suggested that the substantial dearth of doctrinal material in the *Didache* befits a primitive milieu. To be sure, the *Didache* bears little evidence of heresiological sensitivity, nor any sign of the theological wrangling which consumes the church from the fourth century onwards.⁷⁴ Admittedly, though, this train of thought is an argument from silence.

[CONT.] in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911 ed., repr. 1913; Pelikan, *Tradition*, pp. 98ff.; Chadwick, *History*, p. 52; Hans Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, pub. 1938, trans. rev. 1950 & 1953, pr. 1961), pp. 2:196ff.; Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913, pr. 1952), p. 108; Paul McKechnie, *The First Christian Centuries: perspectives on the early church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), p. 173; Henry Melvill Gwatkin, *Early Church History to A. D. 313*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1909), pp. 220f. See also sources listed in fn. 81. To begin with, the *Didache* fails to display any distinctive dogma or nomenclature concerning the Holy Spirit/"Paraclete." Nor does it mention the three major Montanist prophets or betray a rhetoric against the "psychical" mainstream. The *Didache* also appears to lack a number of other Montanist distinctives throughout its length, including martyrdom and shunning marriage after the death of a spouse. Regarding the obstacles to ascertaining Montanist dogma, and for a catalog of apparent distinctives, see John De Soyres, *Montanism and the Primitive Church* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1878; repr. Lexington, KY: The American Theological Library Association 1965), pp. 55ff.

⁷² In about 202, the bishop of Rome was as yet entertaining a disputation on Montanism. Chapman, "Montanists," p. 523. Furthermore, Hippolytus of Rome, the first known writer to articulate the concept of prophecy as a thing of the past, flourished in the early third century. Pelikan, *Tradition*, pp. 106ff.; J. P. Kirsch, "Hippolytus," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911 ed., repr. 1913, pp. 360f.

⁷³ Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 52; Chadwick, *Early Church*, pp. 46ff.; Bercot, *Dictionary*, pp. 155ff. One could cavil to some extent regarding this common dichotomy.

Didache 15:1f. bears strong marks of interpolation. It poses a stark interruption to the topical flow of 14:1-15:3. Furthermore, its content seems to build in part upon *Didache* 13:2, itself an apparent insertion amongst the prophetic protocols. As such, this structure as an interpolation might suggest that the original passage is even more primitive.

⁷⁴ The elements concerning false prophets in *Didache* 11:3ff. are quite general, and do not seem to be overly sensitive to particular theological issues (cf. *Didache* 11:11); on the contrary, the primary concern is for material exploitation. Outside of the eschatological appendix in *Didache* 16, the specific condemnation of false teaching is reserved to those who countermand ethical and devotional standards listed in the *Didache* itself (q. v., *Didache* 6:1; 11:1f.).

Altogether, the presence of Jewish hallmarks and archaic church polity combine to lend an air of primitivity to the *Didache* as a whole. In the next chapter, we will find that our focal passage shares in this trend as well. For the moment, however, we will draw upon these considerations when it comes to hazarding a date for the document.

1.5 -- HISTORICAL-CRITICAL ISSUES

DATING THE *DIDACHE*

Assigning a date to the *Didache* is complex because of its status as a composite document. Not all of its constituent parts necessarily belong to the same period. However, Schaff's early opinion was that "[t]here is nothing in [the *Didache*] which could not have been written between AD 70 and 100."⁷⁵ Similarly, Niederwimmer assigns underlying traditions in the document to the first century, while allowing for a compilation date somewhere in the early 100s CE.⁷⁶ Given our previous discussion of primitive elements, we may affirm Niederwimmer's first conclusion while taking a more cautious stance toward his second; on that point, we may suggest a *terminus ad quem* for the compilation of about 200 CE. The actual date could be considerably earlier, but even the latest extremity of this range would allow for continuing interest in and accurate preservation of primitive traditions, including those found in our focal passage.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Manual*, pp. 119; see also pp. 122 & 2ff. Schaff cites an absence of second-century distinctives, and further notes that the *Didache* is positioned between Clementine and "pseudo-Ignatian literature in the H codex, "nearly indicat[ing], whether intentionally or not, the probable date of its composition."

⁷⁶ "*Didache*," p. 52. Niederwimmer's assessment hinges upon the state of community polity found in chapters 11-15. See also his footnote on page 53, cataloguing scholastic opinions on the issue of date; likewise van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 48; cf. Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 76f. Very few opinions extend beyond the second century.

⁷⁷ This same general period saw the collation of the *Mishnah*, which engages rabbinic opinions ascribed primarily to the first and second centuries CE. Jacob Neusner, ed., *The "Mishnah": a new translation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. xvf.

PROVENANCE

The question of provenance, like that of dating, is complicated by the composite nature of the *Didache*. Not all of the document's components need have originated in the same milieu. Arguably, some Jewish/Jewish-Christian elements may have sprung from the seedbed of faith in the Levant. Other pieces may simply be indicative of local customs, whenever they might stem. For the present, we will limit our attention to the provenance of the compiled product.

Two possibilities for provenance have received the most attention in scholastic quarters.⁷⁸ Egypt has enjoyed consideration due to the P and Coptic manuscript finds, and because of an apparent allusion to the *Didache* in a festal letter by Athanasius.⁷⁹ The eucharistic term κλάσμα, found in *Didache* 9:4, has also been linked to an Egyptian provenance.

On the other hand, a Levantine milieu has also been proposed, whether it be Syria or Roman Palestine. The reasoning here rests not only with the Jewish tenor of the document. It would appear that itinerancy was particularly evident in the Syrian churches – as would befit *Didache* 11-12. Furthermore, it has been argued that the "hills" of *Didache* 9:4 are more indicative of the Levant than of Egyptian terrain.⁸⁰

Despite these arguments, we may identify another viable contender for provenance. Although we have argued above against attributing the *Didache* to a Montanist source, we can admit that the document holds some aspects in common with what may be Montanist

⁷⁸ These next two paragraphs draw repeatedly upon discussions found in Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 53f.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 48ff.; Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 123ff.

⁷⁹ Q. v., Lee Martin McDonald, *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), pp. 139ff. On the issue of manuscript finds, van de Sandt & Flusser demur: "[T]hese sources do not help us to further determine the area whence the *Didache* originated two or three centuries before." "*Didache*," p. 50.

⁸⁰ I. e., των ορεων.

sensibilities.⁸¹ Without being diagnostic of full-blown Montanism itself, these characteristics might befit the kind of background that eventually gave rise to Montanism; such a background quite arguably would have spawned a number of movements with more-and/or-less common sensitivities. As such, we suggest the region of Phrygia -- incipient cradle of Montanism -- as a feasible candidate for provenance.⁸² The case for this proposal is strengthened by records of a significant Jewish presence in the region, which could account for the strong Jewish flavorings in the *Didache*.⁸³ And, for what it may be worth, it appears that Phrygia, like Roman Palestine, features "hills."⁸⁴

In the end, we lack sufficient data to be dogmatic concerning provenance for the *Didache* as a whole.⁸⁵ Acknowledging this, we will nevertheless earmark the Phrygian hypothesis for later

⁸¹ Materials in this subsection have drawn repeatedly upon text and/or primary sources referenced in Chapman, "Montanists"; Pelikan, *Tradition*, pp. 98ff.; Vokes, *Riddle*, pp. 141f.; Bercot, *Dictionary*, pp. 460ff. See also sources listed in fn. 71.

A number of examples may be mentioned here. First, the Montanist emphasis on fasting finds its counterpart if not its own image in the *Didache*. The text exhorts readers to fast for their persecutors, assigns a flexible period of fasting in preparation for baptism, and establishes days of the week for regular fasting. *Q. v.*, *Didache* 1:3, 7:4, 8:1. On a second point, earnest anticipation of Jesus' imminent return is both characteristic of Montanism and evident in the brief eschatological treatise in *Didache* 16. Thirdly, the *Didache* features some harmonics with Montanism in the arena of prophetic activity. Chapter 13 calls for material support for prophets by the community, a concept also found in Montanism. Also, *Didache* 11:11 may be attempting to protect freedom of expression for prophets -- an issue that Montanists took a lot of heat for from the mainstream.

The first two categories are not especially distinctive, as they fall well within the bounds of Jewish-Christian paradigms. The latter venue is not utterly without precedent in early Christianity, either, *q. v.*, *Matthew* 10:10; *Luke* 10:7; *I Corinthians* 9:4ff.; 14:1ff. Taken together, however, these factors resonate notably with aspects of Montanism.

⁸² Chapman, "Montanists." For further discussion, see Pelikan, *Tradition*, pp. 97f.

⁸³ *Q. v.*, Josephus, *Antiquities* 11.8.5 §338; 12.3.4 §§147-53. B. W. R. Pearson, "Antioch (Pisidia)" in Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter, eds., *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), p. 32; also P. R. Trebilco and C. A. Evans, "Diaspora Judaism" in Evans & Porter, *Dictionary*, p. 283; P. R. Trebilco, "Jewish Communities in Asia Minor" in Evans & Porter, p. 563. Antiochus III relocated about two thousand Jewish families to the Lydia and Phrygia ca. 210-205 BCE. Jewish influence in the region is evident in Paul's letter to the Colossians and in Roman tax policy of the mid-first-century CE. *Q. v.*, L. M. McDonald, "Colossae" in Evans & Porter, *Dictionary*, p. 225.

⁸⁴ Meeks, *HarperCollins Study Bible*, map section.

⁸⁵ Niederwimmer writes, "Regarding provenance, we are completely in the dark," and van de Sandt & Flusser state, "[N]o answer [concerning provenance] can pretend to be better than a reasonable guess." Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 53; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 48.

consideration. In chapter four, when we develop a speculative hypothesis about our focal passage, we will find it to be of certain interest.

AUTHORSHIP AND AUDIENCE FOR THE *DIDACHE*

Regardless of provenance, we may in any event make some observations concerning the issues of authorship and intended audience for the *Didache*, based upon internal evidence.

Because the *Didache* is a composite work, it is more accurate to speak of a compilative agent for the document than an author. Different portions stem from various sources, but we will withhold from plumbing original agency for our focal passage until we have made a closer investigation. This being said, we may propose a sketch of the compilative agent for the *Didache*.

As we have noted beforehand, the patchworking together of the *Didache* may have been a single effort -- whether by an individual or by a group -- or it may have been a sedimentary line of tradition.⁸⁶ In any case, for the sake of convenience we will describe the person or persons involved as a single creative agent.

Based upon our previous survey of the document, we may posit that this agent most likely has a Jewish-Christian background.⁸⁷ As such, they have a strong background in standards of Jewish literature and currents of Jewish piety; we may describe this agent as bringing out of their storehouse treasures both old and new.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ See the discussion above on p. 11f.

⁸⁷ If they are not actually of this demographic themselves, they have been under strong Jewish-Christian influence. This conclusion is not mandated by the mere presence of Jewish themes in the *Didache*; catholic Gentile Christianity never divorced itself entirely from its Jewish inheritance. However, it seems particularly unlikely that the treatment of dietary issues found in *Didache* 6:2f. would have been preserved in a Gentile compilation, unless (again) there had been some manner of strong Jewish influence upon the compiling agent's religious experience. This may be asserted all the more in the light of trends apparent in the church from the subapostolic period on through the era of the Greek Apologists. See above p. 16, especially fn. 65. For additional, stark examples of the difference in perspective, compare the following: *Epistle of Barnabas* 10:1ff. to *Didache* 6:3; *Barnabas* 3:1ff. to *Didache* 8:1. Similarly, compare *Epistle to Diognetus* 4:1 to both *Didache* 6:3 and 8:1.

⁸⁸ *Matthew* 13:52.

Furthermore, this agent is attentive to potentially divisive issues in the community, and engages them with both an eye to ideals and a keen sense of balance. Concerning the incendiary issue of diet, the agent both affirms the value of dietary discipline and allows a margin of leniency.⁸⁹ Dynamics of material provision in the community are carefully defined so as to uphold ethical sponsorship without exploitation in turn.⁹⁰ Communal accountability is enjoined, along with a gentleness to soothe potential indignities.⁹¹ In the end, one might dispute some of the lines that the agent has drawn. Nevertheless, it is evident that our agent has been sensitive to points of difficulty in social relations, and has established standards with a mind to both idealism and common sense.

Whether by agenda or by overall temperament, the agent is primarily concerned with the practical living out of the "way of life," to the near-ecliptic neglect of speculative dogma.⁹² The only outstanding piece of speculation may be found in the eschatological treatise of *Didache* 16, and even this is remarkably tame when compared to contemporaneous documents.⁹³

Such is our proposed sketch of the Didachistic agent: rich in their Jewish-Christian inheritance; practical, balanced, and grounded in their application.

The intended audience for the agent's labor is most apparently their own faith community. The *Didache* gives no hint of evangelistic intent, nor does it attempt to make its faith clear to an outside public. Rather, it consists of guidance and exhortations for people who are already invested in the community. Many of its paradigms are basic and address the most common elements of Christian community life -- baptism, prayer, Eucharist, community business, and righteous living.

⁸⁹ *Didache* 6:2f. The point holds true even if verse 2b is a later interpolation.

⁹⁰ *Didache* 13:1ff. & 11:9, 12; 11:4-5a & 11:5bf.; 12:2 & 12:3ff.; cf. 1:5 & 1:6.

⁹¹ *Didache* 4:14, 14:1 & 14:2f., 15:3f.

⁹² *Didache* 1:1f.

⁹³ E. g., the poetic grotesqueries of apocalyptic works, or the baroque cosmologies of gnosticism.

Accordingly, the *Didache* may have been intended as a kind of primer for new Christians.⁹⁴

1.6 -- CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have sought to furnish documentary background appropriate for engaging our focal passage.

In the first place, we have surveyed the limited amount of manuscript evidence for the *Didache*. We have identified manuscript H, the Coptic evidence, and *Apostolic Constitutions* Book VII as relevant to our focal passage, and we have a brief understanding of the different characteristics of these witnesses.

Secondly, we have oriented ourselves to the different sections of the *Didache*.

Next, we have recognized that the *Didache* is a composite document, and so our focal passage will have its own unique characteristics as well as its share in the overall tapestry of the *Didache*. We have discerned that this broader weave incorporates Jewish and/or Jewish-Christian themes as well as primitive elements befitting the early experience of the church.

Finally, although we have acknowledged limitations in our speculative endeavor, we have posited a milieu for the *Didache* as a compiled document. We have proposed a Jewish-Christian source for the compilation, perhaps from the region of Phrygia. This source most likely compiled the *Didache* as a kind of protocol for the benefit of its own faith community, and for new members of the community in particular.

With this broader background in place, we have a suitable foundation for the task of engaging our focal passage. To this enterprise we now turn.

⁹⁴ Riddle, "Notice," p. 375; J. Louis Guthrie, "The Di-dac-he [*sic*] of the Twelve Apostles" (1937); available from <http://members.aol.com/theclarion/earlychurch/didache.html>; Internet; accessed 2 July 2001. See also F. W. Farrar, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" in Brent S. Walters, ed., *"Didache": the unknown teaching of the twelve apostles* (San Jose: The Ante-Nicene Archive, 1991), p. 84.

Chapter Two

An Introduction to the Focal Passage (*Didache* 9 & 10)

2.1 -- CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter, we will examine the key text for our inquiry. First, we will give a somewhat fluid rendition of the text to provide some bearings, followed by a heavily annotated and more literal presentation. Afterward, we will coordinate this passage with our groundwork in chapter one. The chapter will close with a number of basic conclusions, which will undergird our subsequent engagement of the text.

2.2 -- TRANSLATION OF THE KEY TEXT

As noted in the introduction, our key text comprises the whole of chapters nine and ten of the *Didache*. These chapters prescribe ritual prayers for Eucharistic celebration. As usual, we will be using Andre Tuilier's critical edition as the basis for our translation below.¹ This edition has received high praise as "a particular achievement, providing a clear, cautious, and usable text with full notes on the variants."² Beyond this, our textual decisions and comments have been made in light of a number of commentaries and articles.³

The renderings below have been formatted so as to highlight structural points of the passage. The arrangements should not be mistaken for the original layout of any given manuscript.⁴ They are simply an expedient for analysis of the passage at hand. Likewise, all punctuation below is editorial in nature and should not be construed as original.

¹ Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 174ff.

² Draper, "Modern Research," p. 3.

³ Most importantly, Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 174ff.; Lake, *F-th-rs*, vol. I, pp. 308ff.; and Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," *passim*, especially *ca.* pp. 148ff.; also, van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 298f.; Dehandschutter, "Text"; Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations"; and sources mentioned in discussion of textual evidence on pp. 2ff of the present paper.

⁴ For reproductions of H and the Coptic evidence, see Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 4, 6; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 7ff.; Jones & Mirecki, "Considerations," pp. 52ff. In both cases, the reproductions indicate a more-and/or-less column-to-column sweep within the body of text itself, as would be most pragmatic for scribes with a limited quantity of papyrus or vellum. Happily, we contemporary scribes operate under few such constraints.

ORIENTATION (*DIDACHE* 9:1 - 10:7)

But when it comes to the thanksgiving, give thanks in this manner --

First, for the cup:

We give thanks to you, our father, for the holy vine of your lad David, which you made known to us through your lad Jesus -- to you be the glory forever.

But for the bread:

We give thanks to you, our father, for the life and knowledge which you made known to us through your lad Jesus -- to you be the glory forever.

Just as this bread became one after being scattered over the hills, then gathered together, so may your assembly be gathered from the ends of the earth into your kingdom -- for yours is the glory, and the power through Jesus the Messiah, forever.

But let no one eat or drink from your thanksgiving except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord -- for also the Lord has said concerning this, "Don't be giving what is holy to the dogs."

But after you have gotten full, give thanks in this manner --

We give thanks to you, holy father, for your holy name which you made dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which you made known to us through your lad Jesus -- to you be the glory, forever.

O G-d of hosts, you created the universe for the sake of your name. You gave food and drink to humans for enjoyment, in order that they might give thanks to you, but to us you graciously gave spiritual food and drink and eternal life through your lad Jesus.

Concerning all things we give thanks to you, because you are powerful -- to you be the glory, forever.

Remember your assembly, Lord, to rescue her from every evil and to perfect her in your love, and gather her together, sanctified, from the four winds into your kingdom which you prepared for her -- for yours is the power and the glory, forever.

Let the Lord come and let this world pass! *Hosanna* to the house of David!

If someone is holy, let them come! If someone is not, let them repent!

Maranatha!

Amen.

But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they want.

ANNOTATED TRANSLATION (*DIDACHE* 9:1 - 10:7)

(9:1) But concerning the thanksgiving,⁵ give thanks⁶ in this manner --

(9:2) First, concerning the cup:

A We give thanks⁷ to you, our father,
B for the holy vine of David your lad⁸
C which you made known⁹ to us through Jesus your lad¹⁰
X -- to you [be] the glory, into the ages.

(9:3) But concerning the fragment:¹¹

A We give thanks¹² to you, our father,
B for the life and knowledge¹³
C which you made known¹⁴ to us through Jesus your lad¹⁵
X -- to you [be] the glory, into the ages.

⁵ της ευχαριστίας -- This term also becomes a definitive name for the Christian sacrament, as seen in the form "eucharist." Each instance where the root appears (in some form or another) will be noted throughout the translation.

⁶ ευχαριστησατε

⁷ ευχαριστουμεν

⁸ Δαυιδ του παιδος σου -- The term παιδος can mean child and/or servant or slave, *q. v.*, Thayer, *Lexicon*, pp. 473f. In the vast majority of cases, the LXX uses the word root to translate עֶבֶד, so "servant" may be the most likely connotation here. Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *et al.*, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, second edition (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), pp. 1049ff. Nonetheless, "lad" has been employed in this translation as a less restrictive option.

⁹ εγνωρισας

¹⁰ Ιησου του παιδος σου -- see fn. 8

¹¹ κλασματος

¹² ευχαριστουμεν

¹³ της ζωης και γνωσεως -- For what it may be worth, *Constitutions* Book VII omits και γνωσεως.

¹⁴ εγνωρισας

¹⁵ Ιησου του παιδος σου -- see fn. 8

D (9:4) Just as this fragment¹⁶
 E after having been scattered over the hills¹⁷
 F and being gathered together
 G became one,¹⁸
 D in this manner let [also] your assembly¹⁹
 F be gathered
 E from the ends of the earth
 G into your kingdom²⁰
 X -- for yours is the glory,
 Xaugment and the power through Jesus [the] Messiah,²¹
 X into the ages.²²

(9:5) But let no one be eating²³ nor let them be drinking from your thanksgiving²⁴
 but those having been baptized into [the] name of [the] Lord
 -- for too²⁵ the Lord has said concerning this,
 "Don't be giving the holy to the dogs."²⁶

¹⁶ κλασμα -- The word is omitted in *Constitutions* Book VII.

¹⁷ επανω των ορεων -- cf. *Matthew* 5:1ff.

¹⁸ *Constitutions* Book VII replaces εν with εις αρτος.

¹⁹ εκκλησια

²⁰ βασιλειαν

²¹ δια Ιησου Χριστου

²² *Constitutions* Book VII adds αμην.

²³ *Constitutions* Book VII replaces φαγετω with εσθιετω.

²⁴ ευχαριστιας

²⁵ και γαρ -- q. v., Thayer, *Lexicon*, pp. 109f.

²⁶ cf. *Matthew* 7:6

(10:1) But after the [time of] being filled up,²⁷ give thanks²⁸ in this manner --

A (10:2) We give thanks²⁹ to you, holy father,

B for your holy name

C which you tabernacled³⁰ in our hearts,³¹

B' and for the knowledge³² and faith³³ and immortality,

C' which you made known³⁴ to us through Jesus your lad³⁵

X -- to you [be] the glory, into the ages.

²⁷ *Constitutions* Book VII replaces "the being filled" (το εμπλησθηναι) with "the partaking" (την μεταληψιν).

²⁸ ευχαριστησατε

²⁹ ευχαριστουμεν

³⁰ κατεσκηνωσας

³¹ This, given either Bryennios' emendation or the version in *Constitutions* Book VII; H has ταις καρδιας υμων.

³² γνωσεως

³³ *Constitutions* Book VII inserts "and love" (και αγαπης) immediately after πιστεως here.

³⁴ *Constitutions* Book VII replaces γνωρισας here with "gave" (εδωκας).

³⁵ Ιησου του παιδος σου -- see fn. 8

H (10:3) You, [O] master all-powerful,³⁶
 I⁰ created the universe³⁷ for the sake of your name;
 J food and also drink you gave to sons of men³⁸ for enjoyment,
 I in order that they might give thanks³⁹ to you.⁴⁰
 J' But⁴¹ to us you graciously gave⁴² spiritual food and drink
 and eternal life through Jesus⁴³ your lad.⁴⁴
 I' (10:4) Concerning⁴⁵ all things⁴⁶ we give thanks⁴⁷ to you,
 H because you are powerful
 X -- to you⁴⁸ [be] the glory, into the ages.⁴⁹

³⁶ The d-v-n- nomenclature here, δεσποτα παντοκρατορ, would appear to represent אלהים צבאו. See the discussion below on at fn. 96.

³⁷ τα παντα

³⁸ The Coptic text has υιοις των ανθρωπων; H contracts to simply ανθρωποις. Cf. Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 180f.

³⁹ ευχαριστησωσιν

⁴⁰ The Coptic text and *Constitutions* Book VII omit the entire last clause ("in order...").

⁴¹ *Constitutions* Book VII omits from here (Ημιν δε εχαρισω ...) through the whole of (10:4).

⁴² The Coptic text clarifies/rounds out εχαρισω here by adding και εδωκας.

⁴³ This, following the Coptic text -- H erroneously omits Ιησου here.

⁴⁴ Ιησου του παιδος σου -- see fn. 8

⁴⁵ περι -- This, following the Coptic reading, as opposed to προ in H. The Coptic is to be preferred in light of the prayer's consonance with the *Birkat HaMazon*. Q. v., van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 298; 311ff.; also, Dehandschutter, "Text," p. 43.

⁴⁶ παντων

⁴⁷ ευχαριστουμεν

⁴⁸ This, following the Coptic text -- H has συ, but this breaks from the regular formulae throughout the section.

⁴⁹ The Coptic text adds αμην here.

D (10:5) Remember, Lord,⁵⁰ your assembly⁵¹
 L to rescue⁵² her from every evil
 L and to perfect⁵³ her in your love,⁵⁴
 F and gather her together
 E from the four winds
 L -- [she,] the sanctified⁵⁵ --
 G into your kingdom⁵⁶ which you prepared for her
 X -- for yours is
 Xaugment the power and
 X the glory, into the ages.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ *Constitutions* Book VII omits κυριε.

⁵¹ εκκλησιας σου -- *Constitutions* Book VII refines this: αγιας σου εκκλησιας ταυτης.

⁵² *Constitutions* Book VII simplifies του ρυσασθαι to και ρυσαι.

⁵³ Other options would be "and bring her to completion" or "and bring her to fulfillment." The pertinent term (τελειωσαι) relates in other literature to initiation into one of the mystery religions. Frederick William Danker, rev. & ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature*, third edition (BDAG) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 995f.

Constitutions Book VII replaces τελειωσαι with τελειωσον.

⁵⁴ εν τη αγαπη σου

⁵⁵ The Coptic text and *Constitutions* Book VII omit here "the one having been sanctified" (της αγιασθειςαν).

⁵⁶ βασιλειαν

⁵⁷ *Constitutions* Book VII omits the entire X triad here; the Coptic text adds "αμην" at the end.

P (10:6) Let the Lord⁵⁸ come and let this world pass!⁵⁹
P' Hosanna⁶⁰ to the house⁶¹ of David!
P₂ If someone is holy, let them come!⁶²
P₂' If someone is not, let them repent!⁶³
P Maranatha!⁶⁴
Z Amen.

(10:7) But permit the prophets to give thanks⁶⁵ as much as they want.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ ο κυριος -- This following the Coptic text, as opposed to χαρις in H.

⁵⁹ *Constitutions* Book VII omits this entire line; the Coptic text adds "αμην" at the end.

⁶⁰ This, following the Coptic text and corroborated by *Constitutions* Book VII. H apparently has a garbled ως αννα.

⁶¹ οικω -- This, following the Coptic text, vs. υιω in *Constitutions* Book VII and θεω in H.

⁶² *Constitutions* Book VII refines ερχεσθω to προσερχεσθω. See van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 301f.

⁶³ μετανοειτω

⁶⁴ This is, of course, from Aramaic: either מרנא תא ("Lord, come!"); or מרנא אהא ("[the] Lord has come"). Danker, *Lexicon*, p. 616. Given the context, the first possibility seems most fitting in this case. However, the Coptic text may support the latter reading. Tuilier identifies that text here as μαραν αθα, but indicates some doubt ("ut uid[etur]"). *Doctrine*, p. 182.

⁶⁵ ευχαριστειν

⁶⁶ οσα θελουσιν -- *Constitutions* Book VII omits "as much as they want"; Tuilier identifies the Coptic text as ως θελουσιν, again with some doubt ("ut uid[etur]"). *Doctrine*, p. 182.

2.3 -- COORDINATING THE FOCAL TEXT AND CHAPTER ONE

Having encountered our focal passage, we will now seek to coordinate it with the groundwork laid out in chapter one.

TEXTS AND TENDENCIES

As noted previously, the major textual sources pertaining to our passage are manuscript H, the Coptic evidence, and Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.⁶⁷ We may briefly survey their tendencies within the passage at hand.⁶⁸

Manuscript H provides textual evidence for the entire passage without omission. On occasion, H suffers from clumsy scribal errors, each of which is easily ascertainable from the internal form of the passage itself.⁶⁹ However, since the technical execution of the H manuscript itself has been described in favorable terms, we may speculate that these lapses originated somewhere in the previous line of transmission.⁷⁰ A number of redactions also seem to have intruded into the text-tradition behind H, as apparent by comparison to the Coptic evidence.⁷¹

⁶⁷ See p. 7 above.

⁶⁸ We may reiterate that our engagement of textual matters has been made in light of a number of commentaries and articles; *q. v.*, fn. 3.

⁶⁹ *E. g.*, *Didache* 10:2, 3, 4; *q. v.*, fnn. 31, 43, 48.

⁷⁰ *Q. v.*, p. 3 above.

⁷¹ *I. e.*, *Didache* 10:3, 6; *q. v.*, fnn. 38, 58, and 61. The first redaction simplifies the semitism υιους των ανθρωπων and is rather minor. The latter two seem to be smudging out themes that became *passe* in evolving church communities: the first of these appears to transmute an eschatological parousia into a general advent of the Lord's favor; the second seeks to universalize and spiritualize what was originally a Jewish messianic slogan. See Torrey, *Translated Gospels*, pp. 20ff.

In our passage, the Coptic fragment only provides textual evidence for verses 10:3b through the end, and it too has mixed tendencies.⁷² On the one hand, it features a number of expansions and refinements.⁷³ On the other hand, the Coptic text preserves a number of more primitive readings that appear to have been finessed in manuscript H.⁷⁴

As indicated in chapter one, Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* features a reworking of our passage at hand.⁷⁵ A brief survey of the footnotes above will reveal a large number of adjustments, but in fact these do not even begin to take account of other, radical augmentations in the text.⁷⁶ Rather than enumerate the many divergences at this juncture, it will suffice to note that the text has been heavily refashioned according to the tastes of the later church.⁷⁷ It may be employed for textual criticism only with great caution.

In conclusion, the textual witnesses conform in this passage to the discussion found above in chapter one. Both manuscript H and the Coptic fragment appear to have suffered redaction at some points, while preserving more primitive readings in other places. The evidence from Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* remains at our disposal, but as a seriously questionable resource. As such, text-critical decisions must be made on a case-by-case basis, keeping in mind the caveats attendant to such a small pool of textual evidence to begin with.⁷⁸

⁷² Niederwimmer, "Didache," p. 24.

⁷³ Examples may be found throughout the Coptic text; *q. v.*, fnn. 40, 42, 49, 55, 57, and 59. Motivations range from liturgical concerns (*e. g.*, fnn. 49, 57, 59) to theological nuance (*e. g.*, fn. 40).

⁷⁴ *I. e.*, *Didache* 10:3, 6; *q. v.*, fnn. 38, 58, and 61. Most notably, the Coptic text preserves an eschatological component at 10:6a, and a Jewish messianic slogan later in the same verse. Cf. fn. 71.

⁷⁵ *Q. v.*, pp. 6f. above.

⁷⁶ *Q. v.*, Donaldson, "Constitutions," p. 470.

⁷⁷ *E. g.*, see fnn. 41, 66. Fn. 41 addresses a "spiritual food and drink" paradigm, which Book VII of the *Constitutions* omits in favor of explicitly corporeal imagery. Fn. 66 suggests a disinclination in the *Constitutions* to surrender license to the prophets; cf. Donaldson's translation, where mention of the prophets seems to disappear altogether in favor of the presbyters. "Constitutions," p. 470. Cf. also fn. 22 in chapter one of the present paper.

⁷⁸ See the conclusion on textual sources on p. 7 in chapter one.

SETTING RELATIVE TO THE OVERALL DOCUMENT

Looking at the overall sweep of the *Didache*, our focal passage makes up part of a segment dealing with liturgical paradigms for the faith community.⁷⁹ It is situated at the close of the section, following constructs for baptism, fasting, and prayer. The next section, beginning immediately after our focal passage, engages matters of polity and protocol. Although one might propose that the liturgical segment is ordered chiastically, with two sacraments as bookends, the topical flow between the discussions suggests that each issue is simply introduced in a stream of consciousness.

DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS

This last observation segues into coordinating our passage with distinctive characteristics of the *Didache* as a whole. As noted in chapter one, the *Didache* is a composite work, and this same property bears out in our focal passage, on a number of levels.⁸⁰ First, as a distinct eddy in a broader stream of consciousness, our passage is structurally independent. Furthermore, it is not related closely enough to other segments of the whole to indicate a common documentary source.⁸¹ As such, we may classify our passage as a distinct component of the larger composite.

On another level, our passage itself appears to be a composite of different liturgical traditions. As will be discussed below, the majority of the prayers appear to be a single composition, but they have been supplemented by an antiphonal conclusion in 10:6, which grafts

⁷⁹ Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, p. 171.

⁸⁰ *Q.* v., pp. 10ff. above.

⁸¹ This is not to deny a few points of commonality. The theme of life found in the "Two Ways" section (*Didache* 1:1f.; 4:14) receives attention in 9:3 and 10:3. Also, the doxological formula found in the paradigm for triurnal prayer (8:2) corresponds to the formulae at 9:4 and 10:5 in our focal passage. However, neither of these touchpoints predicates a common documentary source -- the first lacks any concrete form in common, and the second could be a broad-based doxological custom (cf. *Matthew* 6:13; see also the discussion below at fn. 83).

together a number of popular catchphrases.⁸² In addition, although the recurring doxological constructs are probably original components of the majority paradigm, it is quite likely that they were woven in from an independent tradition.⁸³ We may also note that the passage includes a pair of instructional statements that deal with protocol and are not part of the prayers at all.⁸⁴

Next, we may coordinate our passage with Jewish hallmarks of the *Didache*, as discussed in chapter one.⁸⁵ Our focal passage shares in this trend with a number of its own traits. First, a Jewish Messianic theme emerges repeatedly in these prayers.⁸⁶ Second, the concern for gathering together the dispersed church parallels a sensitivity to Diaspora, as would befit Second Temple Judaism.⁸⁷ Third, our passage appears to exhibit some consonance with paradigms of Jewish prayer.⁸⁸

⁸² *I. e.*, "Hosanna to the house of David," and "Maranatha." Cf. *Matthew* 21:9, 15 & *Mark* 11:9f., *John* 12:13; *I Corinthians* 16:22. See and compare Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper: a study in the history of the liturgy*, trans. Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), pp. 192f.; Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 168; Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 145, 148f.

⁸³ Again, compare with *Matthew* 6:13; also, compare *I Timothy* 6:14ff., *Jude* 25, *Revelation* 4:11, 5:12, 19:1. It would appear that doxologies with a more-and/or-less similar construct were widely employed in early Christian devotion. The original thrust may have been eschatological; *q. v.*, *Matthew* 24:30 & *Mark* 13:26; *II Thessalonians* 1:9f.; *II Esdras* 16:12. Cf. Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), pp. 217f.; also Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 136ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "Didache," p. 294.

⁸⁴ *I. e.*, 9:5 and 10:7. We may note in passing a possible interpolation in the Xaugment of 9:4. Parallel structure in these prayers makes "through Jesus [the] Messiah" appear somewhat of an intrusion (cf. the Xaugment at 10:5). See Dehandschutter, "Text," p. 42; Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 150f.

⁸⁵ *Q. v.*, pp. 12ff. above.

⁸⁶ *E. g.*, "the holy vine of David your lad ... through Jesus your lad" (9:2); "Hosanna to the house of David!" (10:6).

⁸⁷ Cf. van de Sandt & Flusser, "Didache," pp. 310ff., which cites passages from the Hebrew bible (*e. g.*, *Ezekiel* 11:17b-d, 37:21) and Jewish prayers from both Palestinian and Babylonian rescensions. See also Philo, *Special Laws* 2.168, on thanksgiving for not being vagrants or strangers in other lands.

⁸⁸ Numerous works have explored or remarked upon this matter, including: Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 140, 144f., 148, 151, 155ff.; Draper, "Modern Research," pp. 26, 29; Johannes Betz, "The Eucharist in the *Didache*" in Jonathan A. Draper, ed., *The "Didache" in Modern Research* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 258ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "Didache," pp. 305f., 310ff.; Enrico Mazza, "Didache 9-10: Elements of a Eucharistic Interpretation" in Jonathan A. Draper, ed., *The "Didache" in Modern Research* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), pp. 286, 288, 296f.; Enrico Mazza, *The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer*, trans. Ronald E. Lane (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), p. 18; Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: [CONT.]

Altogether, the Jewish tenor dovetails quite obviously with that of the *Didache* as a whole.

Lastly, we may coordinate our passage with the air of primitivity found in the broader document.⁸⁹ As suggested in chapter one, a strong Jewish character may connote a certain primitivity in and of itself.⁹⁰ More indicative of this trait, however, is the eschatological component in our passage.⁹¹ The community polity in our passage also befits an early milieu.⁹²

[CONT.] The Liturgical Press, 1999), pp. 30, 79f., 307; and Lietzmann, *Mass*, pp. 165ff., 190f. Supplementary material may be found in Idelsohn, *Liturgy*, pp. 20ff., 123f., 133. The discussion herein draws from these works, and from Jacob Neusner's edition of the *Mishnah*. *The Mishnah: a new translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

Scholars have expended a great deal of effort seeking after the precise relationships between our prayers in the *Didache* and various Jewish models. Regrettably, the problems attendant to dating materials in rabbinic literature intrude upon this exercise, and selections from works dating too much later than the *Didache* become less significant than may be realized by some. *Q. v.*, Jacob Neusner, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), pp. xxixff., 14ff. We may note that the *Mishnah*, being near-contemporaneous with our document, testifies to extant protocols for blessings over wine and bread. *Berakhoth* 6:1 & 6:5. *Didache* 10:3ff. also bears certain similarities to the *Birkat Ha-mazon*, a Jewish benediction for after meals; *Tosefta Berakhoth* 6:1 gives us collateral to assert thematic parallels, at least. (Cf. also *Mishnah Berakhoth* 6:8, which may hint at the *Birkat Ha-mazon* in some stage of its development.) There exist further thematic resonances in Jewish prayers of nebulous date, but the parallels draw from a welter of Jewish thought in the *Tanakh* and so contribute little to our discussion. For us, the primary points of consonance are as follows: the Mishnaic providence of protocols for wine (by way of the cup) and for bread, in parallel sequence to the cup-bread orientation of *Didache* chapter 9; and a couple of thematic parallels to the *Birkat Ha-mazon*.

⁸⁹ *Q. v.*, pp. 16ff. above.

⁹⁰ *Q. v.*, p. 17 above. We may reiterate, however, the caveat that Jewish-Christian communities existed well beyond the time of the primitive church.

⁹¹ *Q. v.*, 10:6; perhaps also, 9:4 and 10:5, depending on the conceptualization attendant to the "kingdom." It is worth noting that in Book VII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* the "kingdom" language has been retained, but the most explicit eschatological component at 10:6a has been excised (*q. v.*, fn. 59 above).

⁹² First of all, the statement of protocol in 10:7, giving license to the prophets, connotes a date prior to the catholic exclusion of prophecy from the contemporary church (*q. v.*, pp. 17f. above). Secondly, the absence of any protocol relating to the roles of presbyter or bishop in presiding over the celebration may connote a certain primitivity. However, this is an argument from silence; as a point of reference, it should be noted that the paradigms for baptism in *Didache* 7:1ff. also lack any reference to church hierarchy. In a similar vein, the prayers for the welfare of the church fail to articulate any manner of petition for its hierarchy *per se* (also an argument from silence, but cf., e. g., *The D-v-n-Liturgy of John Chrysostom*. Nikon D. Patrinos, *The Orthodox Liturgy* (Garwood, NJ: The Graphic Arts Press, 1974), pp. 52ff.).

Generally, then, the characteristics identified in chapter one as distinctive in the *Didache* also appear (to greater or lesser extent) within our focal passage: a composite nature, Jewish and/or Jewish-Christian flavorings, and an aura of primitivity. We may now turn to coordinate our previous treatment of historical-critical issues with the passage at hand.

HISTORICAL-CRITICAL ISSUES

We may first address the issue of dating. Overall, we find that our passage corresponds to our broader analysis in chapter one.⁹³ As we have just observed, our passage features a number of primitive characteristics. Furthermore, the presence of prophetic activity implied by 10:7 connotes a date prior to the early third century, inasmuch as the text itself lacks Montanist distinctives.⁹⁴ Accordingly, we may reiterate our assertion of a date more or less prior to 200 CE.

As for the issue of provenance, our focal passage offers evidence with limited application. As discussed previously in chapter one, both the numerous Jewish flavorings and the reference to "hills" in 9:4 may be construed to support an origin in the Levant.⁹⁵ However, when it came to the Mediterranean world, the Levant held a monopoly on neither hills nor Jewish population, and it would be ill-advised to make too much of these factors. The Jewish characteristics in our passage may receive more of a fine point by recognizing a certain wordplay in 10:3, which would have been viable in a Hebrew rendering of the prayer but is totally obscured in the present Greek text.⁹⁶ This

⁹³ Q. v., p. 19 above.

⁹⁴ Q. v., pp. 17f. above.

⁹⁵ Q. v., p. 20 above.

⁹⁶ The wordplay involves the d-v-n- nomenclature at 10:3, δεσπота παντοκρατορ. This particular construct occurs nowhere in the LXX or in the "New Testament," but through survey of the independent Greek words and their respective translative capacities in the LXX and "New Testament," the Hebrew construct behind this nomenclature would appear to be אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת. Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, pp. 292, 1053f.; I. Howard Marshall, ed. *Moulton and Geden Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, sixth edition (London: [CONT.]

could suggest that the original milieu for the prayer at hand was Hebrew-speaking, which might narrow the field of possibilities somewhat.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, there is insufficient evidence to justify dogmatism when it comes to provenance, in our focal passage as well as in the *Didache* as a whole.

Finally, we may engage our passage with regard to the issues of authorship and compilative agency. Given the wordplay in 10:3, it would seem that the composer of that verse was not only Hebrew-speaking but also intimately familiar with Hebrew literature. Other factors previously identified suggest a creative agent sensitive to Jewish interests and well-versed in Jewish imagery and piety.⁹⁸

Moving beyond these generalities, however, it is difficult to ascertain procedures for authorship and/or compilation. Parallelism between the prayers in chapters 9 & 10 implies a certain unity for the majority of our passage.⁹⁹ However, as mentioned above, a number of elements within the prayers appear to have been borrowed or adapted from other sources.¹⁰⁰ Some of these

[*CONT.*] T & T Clark Ltd., 2002), pp. 193f., 827.

In the Hebrew bible, this construct appears only at *Psalms* 80:8 & 14 and *Amos* 5:27, though it also exists on many other occasions as part of larger constructs (like *יהוה אלהים צבאות*). John R. Kohlenberger III and James A. Swanson, *The Hebrew-English Concordance to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), pp. 1351ff. The use of this nomenclature here is extraordinarily fitting. *Psalms* 80 invokes vine imagery and potentially messianic themes, and *Amos* 5 has to do with the scattering of Israel into exile (also glancing tangentially upon vine imagery). These themes correspond respectively to prayers in *Didache* nine, suggesting a tremendously adroit wordplay. It would be remarkable if the resulting harmonics from the selection of *יהוה אלהים צבאות* were merely coincidental.

⁹⁷ My thanks to Brice Tennant for his observation on this point. Personal conversation, 15 August 2003. It remains a possibility, though, that the productive agent in this case had to delight in their subtlety all on their lonesome -- say, if they were highly educated in Hebrew but actively ministering to a Hellenized community.

⁹⁸ *Q.* v., p. 37 above.

⁹⁹ See and compare Van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 298ff.; Mazza, *Origins*, pp. 34f.; Lietzmann, *Mass*, p. 191. There are a number of thematic parallels, as may be recognized by comparing A, B, C, D, E, F, and G constructs marked in the prayers above (*q.* v., pp. 33ff.). Also, the food/drink wordplay in 10:3 might indicate a certain unity between the prayers. Cf. further discussion at pp. 45f. below.

¹⁰⁰ *Q.* v., pp. 36ff.; fnn. 83, 88.

elements were most likely part-and-parcel of the prayers' first articulation, while others may or may not have been incorporated subsequently -- the precise sequence of development is impossible to identify.

Furthermore, the prayers in our passage may be the product of a single liturgical genius, or may have been hammered out gradually by the ongoing practice and experience of a faith community.¹⁰¹ Most certainly these prayers were intended for community life, but -- as with our discussion of these issues for the *Didache* as a whole -- we must allow for either a single or a collective creative agent. Still, we may go beyond our discussion in chapter one to state that a contributing agent to our passage was not only Jewish in character and sensitivity, but also particularly well-versed in Jewish literature and imagery.

To conclude, our assessments of this focal passage generally dovetail with our assessment of the *Didache* as a whole. For it, we depend upon a plurality of textual sources. Furthermore, it has a composite nature and features both Jewish and primitive characteristics. When it comes to historical-critical issues, we may extend the premises of our broader assessment to recognize an agency behind our passage which is literate in Hebrew language and literature.

¹⁰¹ See above, pp. 11f.

2.4 -- INITIAL OBSERVATIONS

In the final segment of this chapter, we will turn to make a number of brief observations that will lay groundwork for further analysis of our passage. We will address key vocabulary, comment on structure, and identify a pivotal issue that will establish the orbit for our subsequent efforts.

VOCABULARY

Our first key term for consideration is εὐχαριστία. This term is used to identify the celebration in our passage, and various adaptations of its root appear in two-thirds of our verses. The primary issue regarding this term is whether or not it should be taken as a reference to the ritual also known as the Lord's Supper.¹⁰² To be sure, εὐχαριστία is used to refer to this ritual by at least the second century, but the term may also be taken in a general sense as simply "thanksgiving."¹⁰³ For the time being, we will simply keep this dual potential in mind.

¹⁰² This paragraph draws repeatedly upon Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 140ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "Didache," pp. 296ff. See also Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 165ff.

¹⁰³ Danker, *Lexicon*, p. 416. When it comes to usage of εὐχαριστίας and/or its related forms, we find rather infrequent appearances in the LXX, and mostly in later texts. Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, p. 583. Usage in the "New Testament" is largely along the lines of general thankfulness, although appearances emerge in the Last Supper narratives of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and in the eucharistic discussion of *I Corinthians* 11; other passages may feature allusion to eucharistic celebration (e. g., *John* 6:11, 23; *Ephesians* 5: 4, 20; *Romans* 14:6 & *I Corinthians* 10:30).

There are examples in Justin Martyr and Irenaeus which refer to the Lord's Supper; this is not to mention instances in Ignatian literature, which we will pass over because of problems attendant to dating in that corpus. J. Pohle, "Eucharist," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1911 ed., repr. 1913. However, other occurrences in the Apostolic *F-th-rs* are mostly general in orientation. Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Index P-tristicus: sive clavis P-trium Apostolicorum operum (ex editione minore Gebhardt Harnack Zahn; lectionibus editionum minorum Funk et Lightfoot admissis)*, Hendrickson edition (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993), pp. 95f.

Usage in the works of Philo is extensive, with occasional parallels to themes in *Didache* 9 & 10 (e. g., *Special Laws* 1.167, 283f.; 2.168, 204; *Noah's Work as a Planter* 126, 130); we may attribute this to common Jewish paradigms rather than to any formal link. Peder Borgen, et al., *The Philo Index: a complete Greek word index to the writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company/Boston: Brill, 2000), p. 157.

Our second key term is *παῖς*, used in our passage to identify both the iconic king David and Jesus himself.¹⁰⁴ We may note at the outset that this Greek term is used in the Septuagint primarily to translate the Hebrew term *עֶבֶר*.¹⁰⁵ Alternately, in the "New Testament," *παῖς* is employed for both the connotation of "servant" and that of "child."¹⁰⁶ However, a few occasions in the "New Testament" bear more than lexicographical significance. On the one hand, *Matthew* 12:18 features *παῖς* in a "servant passage" from *Isaiah* 42:1ff., matching the rendering of the Septuagint in this case.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps even more noteworthy, Lukan texts repeatedly characterize both David and Jesus with *παῖς*.¹⁰⁸ Of these texts, *Acts* 4 is especially significant, joining passages from the Apostolic F-th-rs to suggest that *παῖς* was an epithet commonly applied to Jesus in prayers of the early church.¹⁰⁹ The usage of *παῖς* would seem to be more than casual in our focal passage, and we may hold in mind its harmonics with Isaian "servant" imagery, its link to Davidic iconography, and its (apparent) liturgical orientation.

¹⁰⁴ *Q.* v., *Didache* 9:2 & 3; 10:2 & 3.

¹⁰⁵ See fn. 8 above.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. fn. 8 above. *E. g.*, see *Matthew* 14:2 and *Luke* 12:45 for the "servant" connotation, and *Matthew* 2:16 and *Luke* 2:43 for that of "child."

¹⁰⁷ Dennis C. Duling, "Matthew" in Wayne A. Meeks, *et al.*, eds., *The HarperCollins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version, with the apocryphal/deuterocanonical books* (New York: HarperCollins, Publishers, Inc., 1993), p. 1879. See also *Luke* 1:54; cf. *Acts* 3:13, which Beverly Roberts Gaventa ties to *Isaiah* 52 & 53. "Acts" in Wayne A. Meeks, *et al.*, eds., *The HarperCollins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version, with the apocryphal/deuterocanonical books* (New York: HarperCollins, Publishers, Inc., 1993), p. 2063.

¹⁰⁸ *Luke* 1:69; *Acts* 3:13, 26; 4:25, 27, & 30.

¹⁰⁹ *Acts* 4:25 introduces *Δαυιδ παῖδος σου*, whereas verses 27 and 30 mention *τον αγιον παιδα σου Ιησουν / του αγιου παιδος σου Ιησου*. Cf. *I Clement* 59:2-4, *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 14:1, 3; 20:2. Lake, *F-th-rs*, vol. II, p. 331.

Other important terms for us to consider include γνώσεως and ἐγνωρίσας, which recur in our focal passage. The presence of these terms might be contested on suspicion of later embellishment, perhaps gnostic in background.¹¹⁰ And, indeed, it may be acknowledged that *Constitutions* Book VII lacks some of these references to "knowledge" or "making known."¹¹¹ However, the heavy adaptation characteristic of Book VII might well have included a gnostophobic dimension, so its readings fall short of claiming precedence in this case.¹¹² Most worthy of our notice at this point is the recurrent association of παῖς with knowledge in early church documents.¹¹³ This recurrence suggests an early connection of Isaian "servant" imagery and/or Davidic iconography with the impartation of d-v-n- knowledge.¹¹⁴

In summary, then, we have highlighted important points of vocabulary in our focal passage: εὐχαρίστια has an equivocal capacity, which will prove significant when we engage scholastic views in our next chapter; and we have discerned an early tradition linking messianic themes to d-v-n- knowledge, which will also be significant in later analysis.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Cf. Dehandschutter, "Text," pp. 40, 42. Contrast, however, widespread assessments distancing the *Didache* from gnostic characterization, e. g., Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 148f., Schaff, *Manual*, pp. 119f., and Kraft, *F-th-rs*, pp. 69f.

¹¹¹ Q. v., Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, pp. 176ff.

¹¹² Cf. Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 148f.; Dehandschutter, "Text," pp. 40, 42.

¹¹³ Q. v., *I Clement* 59:2 (ἐπιγνώσιν); *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 14:1 (ἐπιγνώσιν); cf. *Epistle to Diognetus* 8:9 & 11. The theme may be in line with the prophetic characterization employed in *Acts* 3; note the usage of παῖς in verses 13 & 26.

¹¹⁴ For the revelatory dynamic, see Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 148f.

¹¹⁵ We may mention incidentally at this point that the prayer in *I Clement* 59 bears an especially close parallel to our focal passage, sharing not only the components of παῖς and revealed knowledge, but also an emphasis upon the name of G-d; q. v., *I Clement* 59:3, *Didache* 10:2.

STRUCTURE

At this juncture, we will also include a few observations on the structure of our focal passage. Analysis reveals that the prayers in our segment have been carefully crafted, and awareness of their construction will prove useful on a number of levels.

In the first place, we may recognize a number of parallelisms in the structure of our primary prayers.¹¹⁶ Some of these are quite obvious by way of common construction.¹¹⁷ Others are thematic in nature.¹¹⁸ At the most basic level, we may note a parallel progression of the two pre- and post-thanksgiving sequences.¹¹⁹ The sum total of these parallelisms is impressive and reveals both intentionality and artistry on the part of agency behind our passage.¹²⁰

Secondly, we may discern a chiastic pattern woven into our passage. Verses 10:3-4a contain a reflexive macrame with three threads. The first brackets the pattern with references to G-d's power.¹²¹ The second consists of a triad built from *πας* and *ευχαριστια*.¹²² As for the third, it engages d-v-n- gifts of food and drink, with an evolutionary twist.¹²³ The craftsmanship is clever, all the more so because its chiastic centerpiece is an affirmation of human thanksgiving as d-v-n-ly

¹¹⁶ For this paragraph, see and compare van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 248ff. Furthermore, it will be helpful in the following paragraphs to consider the presentation of our text above on pp. 28ff.

¹¹⁷ E. g., the tripartite benedictions in 9:2, 9:3, and (though altered somewhat) 10:2. For further consideration, see the parallel-column format presented in van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 298ff.

¹¹⁸ E. g., the "D," "E," "F," and "G" components in 9:4 and 10:5.

¹¹⁹ I. e., chapters 9 and 10. Both preserve a general order of A-C before D-G, with triadic X patterns interspersed (although the doxological components may be later interpolations). Incidentally, we may note the parallel progression of the X components as well, with the Xaugment appearing in the third leg of each set.

¹²⁰ See van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 298ff.

¹²¹ The thread is identified as "H" in the presentation on p. 31 above.

¹²² The triad introduces each individually at first, and then combines the two in its third leg. The thread is identified by variants of "I" in the presentation on p. 31 above.

¹²³ This thread is identified as "J" in the presentation on p. 31 above.

purposed.¹²⁴ What is more, this very centerpiece has been identified as the liturgical rationale for the Jewish prayer which 10:3-4a parallels.¹²⁵

Consideration of structure in our passage, then, allows us to make a number of observations. As we have mentioned previously, the parallelisms within and between chapters 9 & 10 suggest a certain unity for the primary prayers; indeed, they may fairly be treated as a whole.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the complexity of chiasm and other parallelisms suggests highly sensitive and intelligent agency behind the prayers in our focal passage. We may add this point to our previous observations to yield an increasingly impressive appraisal of the literary capacities behind our passage.¹²⁷

PIVOTAL ISSUE

A final point of observation will identify a pressing question sparked by our focal passage.¹²⁸ For a first-time reader of the *Didache*, the most striking facet of this text may be its apparent treatment of the eucharist -- including blessings for both bread and cup -- without any mention of either Jesus' body or his blood. Indeed, there is no mention in our passage of Jesus' death or even of celebrating the ritual "in remembrance of him."¹²⁹ Such a celebration might seem to miss the entire point of eucharistic celebration -- at least, so far as mainstream Christian tradition has understood it for centuries.

¹²⁴ On a tangential note, we may identify another chiastic pattern at 10:6, where the closing exclamations alternate between themes of "coming" and "redemption."

¹²⁵ Mazza, *Origins*, pp. 22ff. See also fn. 88 above; fn. 32 in chapter three.

¹²⁶ *Q. v.*, p. 43 above. Again, however, we may acknowledge that one component of the prayers or another may have antedated other components. *Q. v.*, pp. 10f. & 22 above; also, van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 313.

¹²⁷ *Q. v.*, p. 41 above. For further literature on chiasm and artistic parallelism in early church documents, see: Peter F. Ellis, *The Genius of John: a composition-critical commentary on the fourth gospel* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1984); and John Dart, *Decoding Mark* (Harrisburg, PA: Tr-n-t Press International, 2003).

¹²⁸ This paragraph repeatedly references Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 133f.

¹²⁹ Cf. *I Corinthians* 11:24f.; also *Luke* 22:19.

The balance of this paper will engage this fundamental issue. Our next chapter will look at different scholastic treatments of our passage, as pertinent to the body/blood conundrum, while a final chapter will articulate a comprehensive hypothesis to account for the absence at hand.

2.5 -- CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have laid an important foundation for engaging our focal passage. We have provided an annotated translation and paid particular attention to certain vocabulary. Furthermore, we have correlated the passage to our broader treatment of the *Didache* as a whole, noting its harmonious yet distinct character. Significantly, we have observed that the productive agency behind our passage enjoyed literacy in Hebrew language and literature, as well as compositional acumen. Finally, we have identified a major issue for closer attention in the latter portion of this paper: the absence of body/blood imagery in our apparently eucharistic text.

Chapter Three

An Engagement of Scholastic Efforts

3.1 -- CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter, we will consider scholastic efforts relevant to our focal issue: the lack of body/blood imagery in *Didache* 9 & 10. First, we will identify the primary field for discussion on the matter. Afterward, we will engage different scholastic perspectives relating to this field. The chapter will close with a summary of what may be gleaned from our review of scholastic materials, as well as an assessment of what appears lacking in the present scope of scholarly inquiry.

3.2 -- THE PRIMARY FIELD

We may begin with the observation that scholastic efforts related to our issue intertwine with a broader question concerning the precise nature of the celebration described in *Didache* 9 & 10. There has been a longstanding difference of opinion as to whether the event is actually eucharistic.¹ The appearance of εὐχαριστία in 9:1 and 9:5, along with the presence of bread and cup, would naturally seem to indicate a eucharistic celebration. However, as noted in the last chapter, εὐχαριστία may carry both technical and general connotations, and scholars have been attentive to possibilities raised by this.² Curious facets of the paradigm in *Didache* 9 & 10 have led numerous scholars to construe εὐχαριστία in a more general direction. These curious features include: the sequence of cup-bread; the lack of words of institution³; the lack of reference to the death and resurrection of Jesus; and the implication in *Didache* 10:1 of a substantial meal as part of the celebration. In the following subsections, we will review efforts at engaging both these facets and the broader issue of whether our passage can properly be considered eucharistic.

¹ This paragraph draws heavily upon the overview found in van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 296, with augmentation from Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 140.

² Concerning εὐχαριστία, see p. 42 above. Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 143f. treats of it in a more general sense. Cf. discussion below at p. 52.

³ *I. e.*, the statement of theological rationale for observing the ritual. Mazza, *Celebration*, pp. 287ff. Mazza cites Caesare Giraudo on this point.

3.3 -- ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ OR ΑΓΑΠΗ?

We will begin by addressing the lattermost curiosity in our laundry list above: the implication of a substantial meal in *Didache* 10:1. This verse introduces a second series of prayers by saying, "But after the [time of] being filled up, give thanks in this manner." The Greek term rendered "being filled up" is ἐμπλησθῆναι, and this has often been understood as referring to an intervening meal between the prayers in chapters 9 and 10.⁴ Yet, we should note that a number of other possibilities also exist. The term might be understood in more of a spiritual/metaphorical sense.⁵ Alternately, the term may be somewhat vestigial in nature -- perhaps even artistically so -- since the prayers in our passage have some consonance with Jewish meal prayers.⁶ However, this point of reference could cut either way, since the consonance could be seen as indicative of an actual meal.

In the end, an extended study of ἐμπλησθῆναι suggests that it may be intended to carry multiple levels of meaning in our passage, both physical and spiritual.⁷ Beyond this, it seems

⁴ "La plupart des critiques sont aujourd'hui d'accord pour affirmer que l'expression ... signifie bien qu'on prenait à cette occasion un repas complet." Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, p. 40.

⁵ See Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 143. This perspective might find a measure of support in light of the "spiritual food and drink" concept apparent in 10:3.

⁶ The term, as such, could be part of a larger conceit to evoke the εἶδος of an actual supper. Cf. Mazza's comment that the term essentially could be an inherited time-marker. *Origins*, pp. 16f.; "Elements," p. 298. Regarding the issue of consonance, see above on pp. 35f.

Cf. Betz, who argues that the term must be taken literally because it is rubrical in this passage. "Eucharist," p. 249.

⁷ On a purely etymological basis, the term would appear to be viable in either capacity, *q. v.*, Danker, *Lexicon*, pp. 813f., 830; also, Thayer, *Lexicon*, pp. 509, 519. In the LXX, the root is used to translate both כָּבֵשׁ, which connotes satiation, and the more vague מָלֵא, "to fill." Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, pp. 1133f.; Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *et al.*, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, study edition (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 2.1302ff., 583ff.

Beyond sheer etymological analysis, we may consider use of the term or of some form of its root -- ἐμπλημι -- in relevant literature. Passages in the LXX reveal a number of applications. On the one hand, numerous cases refer to physical satiation (*e. g.*, *Exodus* 16:12; *Psalms* 16:14; *Proverbs* 28:19). Others involve a human subject being filled with feeling or experience (*e. g.*, *Psalms* 87:3; 37:7; 122:3f.) or with spiritual dimension (*Sirach* 48:12). Interestingly, another set of passages blends physical consumption and spiritual significance (*Proverbs* 1:31; 12:14; 18:20; *Ezekiel* 3:3). We may suggest at this juncture that multiple meanings may reside in our term as found in the *Didache*. [CONT.]

impossible -- given the ritual aspect of our celebration -- to determine whether connotations of physical satiation should be understood literally or poetically. Yet we may assert that, if simply spiritual and/or poetic, then ἐμπλησθῆναι would no longer be such a point of curiosity, and would not challenge an understanding of the passage as eucharistic. This leaves us to pursue the literal potential of the term in our passage until it also has reached resolution.

The impression of a literal repast in our passage has prompted much scholarly exertion.⁸ One trend in thought has understood the resulting celebration to be a sacramental eucharist in meal form.⁹ A primary argument in support of this understanding is our prayers' placement in the overall flow of the *Didache*; the first part of the document has been seen as an initiation construct, moving from catechesis to its climax in the paired rite of baptism and first eucharist.¹⁰ Yet, an obstacle to this particular argument is the intervening material between discussions of baptism and eucharist,

[CONT.] Regrettably, forms of ἐμπλησθῆναι occur in the "New Testament" almost exclusively within Lukan material, so we do not gain a wide appreciation of its connotation within that corpus. Marshall, *Concordance*, p. 882. Within the Lukan books, we find a primary usage to indicate either filling with emotion (e. g., *Luke* 4:28; 5:26; *Acts* 3:10; 5:17) or with the Holy Spirit (e. g., *Luke* 1:15, 41, & 67; *Acts* 2:4; 4:8; 13:9). In contemporary literature, however, we find both a physical implication (Philo, *Sacrifices of Abel & Cain* 33) and a psychological application (Hermas, *Similitudes* 5.3.7).

Given the variety of connotations available to ἐμπλησθῆναι, we may persevere with our suggestion that its presence in the *Didache* is multivalent. This may be bolstered by a host of passages in the LXX that employ our term in contexts relevant to major themes in *Didache* 9 & 10; to explicate the points of connection at this juncture in our argument would be a distraction and problematic in the flow of our argumentation, but they are remarkable (e. g., *Exodus* 40:34f., *Ezekiel* 10:4, & *Haggai* 2:8; *Habbakuk* 2:14, *Daniel* 12:4, & *Sirach* 24:25; *Exodus* 16:12, *Ecclesiastes* 11:3, & *Song* 5:2; *Psalms* 79:9). In any case, with or without the support of these passages, one may argue that ἐμπλησθῆναι should be understood as bearing multiple meanings in *Didache* 10:1.

⁸ The discussion of views on this matter draws heavily upon the following sources: Betz, "Eucharist," pp. 246ff.; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 296f.; Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 141ff.; Draper, "Modern Research," pp. 26ff.

⁹ For what it may be worth, Tertullian was under the impression (as late as the earliest third century) that the Lord commanded for the Eucharist to be eaten at mealtimes. *The Chaplet* 3.

¹⁰ "[The] annual Baptism-Eucharist service seems to provide the most satisfactory setting for *Did.* 9-10 -- indeed, for *Did.* 1-10...." Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 168; see also Mazza, *Origins*, p. 13. Lietzmann notes parallels between the baptism-eucharist sequence and the customary sequencing of church order texts and liturgical *praxis*. *Mass*, p. 189. Similarly, Niederwimmer notes that the context heightens expectation for a eucharistic model to appear. "*Didache*," p. 140.

• which addresses fasting protocols and presents the Lord's Prayer.¹¹ As we have noted previously, the flow of liturgical materials in chapters 7-10 seems to be stream-of-consciousness, not intentional.¹² Nonetheless, the understanding of the repast as a sacramental eucharist has merit on the most simple basis: otherwise, the *Didache* as a whole lacks a eucharistic construct, which would seem an outstanding omission in even a concise protocol.

A differing trend in scholastic interpretation has identified the meal between our prayers as a community meal or *αγάπη*, distinct from the eucharist itself. Objections to this stance involve the connotation of *ευχαριστία* as applied to our celebration in a grammatically definite form.¹³ On the one hand, Kraft invokes the "rather technical use" of the term in 9:5.¹⁴ Elsewhere, we find an appeal to the phraseology for baptism in *Didache* 7:1, citing parallel structure as indicative of ecclesial/ceremonial (and thus, technical) significance.¹⁵ We may also mention the assertion that the *αγάπη* did not even exist as an independent institution in the earliest church; accordingly, a simple meal might seem that much less likely to occasion a technical title.¹⁶ However, for those less convinced of technical diction in our passage, the community meal concept has the advantage of dispensing with our laundry list of curiosities -- for if there is no eucharist in our passage, then naturally there is no divergence from eucharistic norms.

¹¹ See chapter 8 of the *Didache*.

¹² See p. 36 above.

¹³ *Q. v.*, *Didache* 9:1 and 9:5. See fn. 2 above.

¹⁴ Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 167. Cf. the discussion at pp. 42 above.

¹⁵ Van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 302f.

¹⁶ Niederwimmer references A. Voobus for this line of objection. "*Didache*," p. 142. Mazza, "Elements," pp. 285f.; *Origins*, p. 26.

Yet, this runs into the problem of leaving the *Didache* bereft of a eucharistic paradigm -- as mentioned above, an outstanding omission.¹⁷ Some scholars have offset this factor by arguing that elements within the text allude to a forthcoming but unexplicated eucharistic celebration. Primary support for this involves the snippet toward the end of our prayers in 10:6, "If someone is holy, let them come / If someone is not, let them repent"; this has been seen as leading into eucharistic celebration.¹⁸ However, this argument is less conclusive than it may seem. Given the complete exchange of 10:6 -- including "Let the Lord come and let this world pass ... *Maranatha*" -- this snippet may be construed as an eschatological exhortation for the individual to come into the new world order.¹⁹

On another tack, some scholars have sought to account for lack of explication by pleading an arcane concern to guard the eucharistic celebration from outsiders.²⁰ However, this line of argument can cut both ways: if there were a concern to utterly guard eucharistic celebration from others, then we may question why the basic elements of bread and cup are explicated in the blessings of chapter 9 -- especially under what appears to be a technical assignation.²¹ Although

¹⁷ *Q. v.*, p. 52 above.

¹⁸ Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. Norman Perrin (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), p. 118. Jeremias summarizes here the argument of Martin Dibelius. See also Draper, "Modern Research," p. 27. Niederwimmer sees 10:2-5 as simultaneously following the Jewish model for thanksgiving and introducing the imminent eucharist. "*Didache*," pp. 142f. Finally, see Lietzmann for a minor variant on the theme. *Mass*, pp. 192f.

¹⁹ Cf. Betz, "Eucharist," pp. 248, 261, 271f. We find attention to connotation in van de Sandt & Flusser: "The clauses of 10:6b ... are hardly meant to be an invitation to participate in the Lord's Supper. If the instruction 'let him come' really implied the connotation 'to come forward,' the Greek text would probably require the compound verb προσερχεσθω, rather than just ερχεσθω." "*Didache*," pp. 301f.

²⁰ *Q. v.*, Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 125ff.; Rordorf & Tuilier, *Doctrine*, p. 40.

²¹ Jewish meal protocols in the *Mishnah* involve blessings for elements besides merely bread and wine, so the appearance of blessings for bread and cup alone is not entirely unworthy of notice. *Mishnah Berakhoth* 6:1ff. We may admit that the agency behind the *Didache* may not have been inclined to be overly melismatic beyond the most basic elements of diet; nevertheless, the parallel to eucharistic celebration is striking, especially given the aforementioned factors raising one's expectation for a eucharistic paradigm.

arcane motivation may be debatable, a broader line of argument is not without merit here; body/blood imagery in eucharistic events may well have been a source of difficulty for community members in their public relations.²²

In any case, even if the protocol in our passage were intended to inexplicitly interface with a eucharistic celebration, we accordingly should still admit eucharistic significance to the elements being prayed over at this juncture, and the meal would be related however diversely to the secret rite itself. We would have an incomplete rather than a non-eucharistic protocol.

In summary, then, we have found ἐμπλησθῆναι to be potentially multivalent in our passage. Yet on the one hand, if it bears a sheerly spiritual and/or poetic connotation, then it is not overly curious in a eucharistic paradigm. On the other hand, if it literally implies a meal, a number of factors²³ suggest that the resulting protocol would have some manner of eucharistic significance, whether intrinsic or associative. In any case, we may assert that the presence of ἐμπλησθῆναι in our focal passage falls short of obviating the passage's eucharistic potential.

Beside this assessment, we may hold in mind that the omission of an explicit eucharistic paradigm from the *Didache* is itself curious, and that such an omission might stem from a concern for outsiders' reaction to the eucharistic celebration.

²² Niederwimmer asserts (citing Otto Perler) that there is no solid evidence for arcane discipline at the time of the *Didache*. "Didache," p. 143. Concerning the issue of public relations, Eusebius indicates that cannibalism was a charge leveled against Christians in Gaul around the date of 177 CE. He also mentions that documentation of the resulting persecution and martyrdoms was circulated amongst churches in Asia and Phrygia. Q. v., *The Ecclesiastical History* 5.1.2, 11, 14, 26, and especially 5.1.49-52, describing the martyrdom of a Phrygian living in Gaul, who denies the charge of cannibalism. See also our discussion of blood libel on pp. 63f. below.

²³ E. g., the technical overtones of εὐχαριστία in our passage, and the outstanding appropriateness of a eucharistic paradigm in our document.

3.4 – ELEMENTS LACKING AND/OR ABSENT?

Returning to our laundry list of curiosities, we may now engage scholastic opinions relevant to the lack of words of institution in our passage, and the similar absence of what Niederwimmer terms "the *kerygma* of the passion," for in fact both curiosities may be handled together.²⁴ Although it could be argued that the lack of these elements challenges the likelihood of eucharistic significance in our passage, such a conclusion would leave us once more with a protocol bereft of a eucharistic paradigm, yet featuring elements that strongly correlate to eucharistic forms. As previously observed, this in turn is problematic, so we may consider other possible explanations for these curious absences.²⁵

A number of scholars have taken the position that our paradigm in chapters 9 & 10 is indeed eucharistic, but indicative of an early stage in eucharistic tradition(s).²⁶ Difference from the archetype(s) found in the "New Testament" has been considered a mark of great antiquity, suggesting a time before commemoration of Jesus' passion enjoyed ecliptic ascendance.²⁷ For some, the eucharist in our chapters even predates the emergence of the passion model.²⁸

²⁴ "Didache," p. 140.

²⁵ *Q. v.*, pp. 52f. above.

²⁶ In addition to the following perspectives, we should mention the stance of Johannes Betz, who hypothesizes the prayers to be formerly eucharistic, but redrafted as meal prayers in the *Didache*. Like others, Betz considers the former prayers to have been rendered obsolete by the evolving theology of the church and its expression in liturgical *praxis*. "Eucharist," pp. 246ff., 274f. Niederwimmer notes that Betz is adopting and correcting work by Erik Peterson. "Didache," p. 142; see also comments on Peterson's work in Draper, "Modern Research," p. 28. In addition, see Walter Schmithals, *The Theology of the First Christians*, trans. O. C. Dean, Jr. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), pp. 238ff.

²⁷ Lietzmann, *Mass*, p. 193; cf. Harnack's remark found in Niederwimmer, "Didache," pp. 140f.

²⁸ Oscar Cullman writes, "The *Didache* knows moreover only the pre-Pauline type of the Lord's Supper celebration, which belongs to the original community where the connexion [*sic*] with Jesus' Last Supper and his death is still absent." *Early Christian Worship*, trans. A. Stewart Todd and James B. Torrance (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1953, repr. 1962), p. 19. See also the tripartite model of development in van de Sandt & Flusser, "Didache," p. 297; for the "New Testament" model(s) as an artifice influenced by community meal *praxis*, see pp. 306ff.

Notable in this venue, however, is the work of Enrico Mazza. Characterizing our prayers as indicative of an embryonic stage in Christian theologies, Mazza nevertheless argues for a connection between the *Didache* model and accounts in the "New Testament."²⁹ His position engages the apparent lack of words of institution in chapters 9 & 10.³⁰ To begin with, Mazza notes that not all liturgical exemplars feature explicit words of institution.³¹ Accordingly, he argues that implicit allusions to issues of institution fulfill the operative role of their explicit counterparts.³² In the case of *Didache* 9 & 10, he concludes that an explicit statement of institution is unnecessary if the operative term of institution, "Do this in remembrance of me," is being however implicitly fulfilled in the ritual meal.³³

In conclusion, then, the perspectives we have just surveyed are important to addressing curiosities in our list which revolve around apparent absences of normative eucharistic material. On the one hand, Mazza's insights alert us to the potential for both words of institution and references to Jesus' passion to be implicit rather than explicit. On the other hand, we have encountered the possibility that our passage may be truly eucharistic without including "the

²⁹ "[T]he work of the Didachist was a profound re-elaboration of the Jewish theology expressed in the meal prayer, to convey the soteriological themes of the New Testament, even though in the initial phase of their elaboration and theological genesis." "Elements," p. 278; see also p. 284 on the meal as reflective of nascent christology.

³⁰ "If we ask ourselves what is missing from the *Didache* in order for it to be accepted as a celebration of the eucharistic mystery, we receive the obligatory response: it lacks the account of institution." "Elements," p. 289.

³¹ Mazza cites the *Liturgy of Addai and Mari*, as well as the pre-Portuguese Malabar liturgy. "Elements," pp. 289ff.

³² Mazza gives the example of the *Birkat Ha-mazon*, which has traditionally been rooted in the injunction of *Deuteronomy* 8:10. *Tosefta Berakhoth* 6:1; *Bavli Berakhoth* 48b. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy*, pp. 123f.; Mazza, *Origins*, pp. 18, 22ff. He writes, "We can say ... that the reference to *Deuteronomy* 8:10 is the account of institution of the Jewish *Birkat ha-mazon*, whether the passage from *Deuteronomy* is quoted formally and directly or whether it is only indicated by a simple and more-or-less pointed allusion." *Origins*, pp. 23f.

³³ Mazza, "Elements," p. 291ff. "Faced with the command 'Do this,' the disciples cannot have understood that they should do anything different to what they had celebrated and lived with Jesus. A Jew (Jesus) asks Jews (the disciples) to perform a Jewish ritual meal in his memory." So, in the prayers from *Didache* 9 & 10 the Jewish meal protocol is nuanced with Jesus material to fulfill both the "this" and the "in remembrance of me" components, and Mazza highlights allusion to these two vectors in *Didache* 10:3 as "a sufficiently evident tie with the institution command...." "Elements," pp. 295ff.; *Origins*, p. 30.

kerygma of the passion," if it represents an early stage in the development of eucharistic thought and/or practice.³⁴ Both of these observations may allow us to consider our passage as truly eucharistic in spite of an apparent lack or omission of normative materials.

3.5 -- THE SEQUENCE OF CUP-BREAD: ABNORMAL OR SIMPLY DIVERSE?

The final curiosity on our laundry list is the fact that the blessing over the cup precedes the blessing over the bread in our passage. This order is quite obviously divergent from the one celebrated in modern churches, and it is understandable that the difference in protocol might stand out for many readers. Although the simple difference in order is arguably not that consequential, scholastic engagements of the matter have been illuminating, and we will review a number of insights, if only to dispel lingering concerns on this minor issue.

To begin with, it has been pointed out that there are glimmers in the "New Testament" of a cup-bread sequence in eucharistic celebration.³⁵ One glimmering appears at *I Corinthians* 10:16, where the eucharistic elements are treated in the order cup-bread.³⁶ Admittedly, the context is argumentative, not rubrical; however, the sequence in the argumentative citation may suggest that *I Corinthians* is familiar with a eucharistic celebration where the order was normally cup-bread. A second glimmering has been discerned in the narrative of *Luke* 22, where there is a cup-bread-cup sequence for the Last Supper. It has been suggested that the first cup-bread pairing is a vestige of an earlier eucharistic paradigm, eschatological in orientation, which was later updated with an additional cup in order to fit the ecliptic norm. Either of these "New Testament" examples may attenuate the apparent uniqueness of the cup-bread order in our focal passage.

³⁴ See fn. 24 above.

³⁵ This paragraph will draw heavily upon the following works: van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," pp. 304ff.; Betz, "Eucharist," p. 275. Betz references H. Schurmann in his treatment.

³⁶ Cf. the parallel at *I Corinthians* 10:21.

Furthermore, the sequence cup-bread may fit contemporary Jewish protocol for the blessings over food before a meal.³⁷ *Mishnah Berakhoth* 6:1, 6:5, & 6:6f. each treat ritual matters in an order that introduces the wine protocol before that of the bread. This quite likely reflects the order of protocol for blessings at an actual meal, and may be indicative of contemporary practice at the time when our prayers were being composed. As such, in light of our other observations regarding the consonance of our prayers with Jewish models, it is conceivable for the cup-bread sequence to stem from paradigms of Jewish piety.³⁸

In conclusion, then, we find that the sequence cup-bread in our prayers may not be so curious at all. Jewish protocol could explain the order most naturally and simply, and instances in the "New Testament" may suggest that such an ordering was not only not abnormal, but even a present and familiar option for some in the early church.

3.6 -- REVIEWING THE PRIMARY FIELD

As we noted above, scholastic efforts relevant to our focal issue have been intertwined with the question of the precise nature of the celebration described in our focal passage.³⁹ Review of our labors thus far will help us make an intelligent appraisal of the matter. On the one hand, we have observed that phraseology involving εὐχαριστία may carry a technical connotation, and we have noticed that the omission of a eucharistic paradigm from our document would be quite remarkable. On the other hand, we have reviewed several points of curiosity that challenge the identification of our celebration as eucharistic. These curiosities have been found to have their own points of resolution: the cup-bread sequence is understandable in light of Jewish tradition; the terms of

³⁷ Betz, "Eucharist," pp. 259; van de Sandt & Flusser, "*Didache*," p. 310; Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," pp. 144f.

³⁸ Once again, on the subject of such consonance, see above at pp. 37f.

³⁹ *Q. v.*, p. 49 above.

institution may be embedded implicitly rather than stated explicitly; reference to Jesus' death and resurrection may not be concomitant with eucharistic celebration in its earliest development; and body/blood imagery may have been inconspicuous due to external pressures. Having considered a welter of challenges and having accounted for each of them, we can safely say that our celebration bears some manner of eucharistic significance, be it intrinsic or associative.

3.7 -- CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have reviewed scholastic perspectives on matters relevant to our focal issue: the absence of body/blood imagery in *Didache* 9 & 10. In the process, we have encountered a number of factors that will undergird further engagement of our passage, including: potential for a celebration to be truly (if primitively) eucharistic without focusing upon the death and resurrection of Jesus; potential for root issues to be inexplicitly embedded in our prayers; potential social complications related to body/blood imagery in the eucharist; and lastly, the likelihood that our paradigm bears some manner of eucharistic significance.

Indeed, many of the scholarly perspectives engaged in this chapter have been creative and learned in their treatment of our focal passage, and we have benefited from many of their insights. However, none of the scholarly efforts encountered so far have pursued a most obvious venue for plumbing the absence of body/blood imagery in our passage. This would be the point at which the imagery is most noticeably absent -- the words attached to the ritual elements of bread and cup themselves. Where we might expect to find commemoration of Jesus' body, we find a thanksgiving for life and knowledge; where we might anticipate a reference to his blood, we find gratitude for a holy vine of Davidic import. Our next chapter will explore a potential correlation between our peculiar blessings over bread and cup and the more familiar meanings associated with those elements. In the end, we will have provided a model -- apparently new -- that feasibly accounts for the absence of body/blood imagery in the *Didache*.

Chapter Four

A Demonstration of our Thesis

4.1 -- CHAPTER OVERVIEW

In this chapter, we will present a historical/interpretive model that accounts for our focal issue: the lack of body/blood imagery in *Didache* 9 & 10. First, we will state the thesis our model attempts to demonstrate. Next, we will establish a setting for the model. Thereafter, we will explicate the model's dynamics and identify a contemporaneous source that buttresses its efficacy. We will conclude with a concise summary of our labors and of their fruit.

4.2 -- OUR THESIS

We begin by formally stating our thesis, which we have already touched upon in the previous chapter. We contend that it is possible to articulate a viable correlation between eucharistic accounts in the "New Testament" and the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10, by way of the various words spoken over the elements of cup and bread.

4.3 -- SETTING

In our first chapter, we suggested the region of Phrygia as a suitable candidate for the provenance of the *Didache*, and we will now revisit this proposal.¹ To recapitulate, the region had a significant Jewish population, going back to the third century BCE, and we may expect that early Jesus communities in the region were strongly influenced by Jewish paradigms.² In light of our studies so far, we can say all the more that this befits our focal passage.³

¹ See pp. 20ff. above.

² See fn. 83 in chapter one.

³ See pp. 12ff. & 37 above.

One Jewish paradigm which is most relevant to our discussion is the blood taboo. The Jewish dietary code as outlined in the Hebrew scriptures prohibits the consumption of blood in emphatic terms -- not only for Jews, but for Gentiles as well.⁴ What is more, according to the Lukan narrative in *Acts*, this taboo was confirmed as applicable to Gentiles by the mother church in Jerusalem, with a letter to the effect being dispatched at least as far as the region of Cilicia.⁵ And we need not imagine that the taboo was soon forgotten, or even regionally isolated. Eusebius gives an account of a Gallic martyr ca. 177 CE, who testified under trial that Christians were forbidden to consume the blood of beasts; interestingly, Eusebius also states that this account was circulated through Phrygia.⁶ We may expect on a number of scores, then, that members of Jesus communities in Phrygia were conscious of the blood taboo, and given longstanding Jewish influence, some parties may have been quite averse to the imagery of consuming blood in the eucharist.⁷

⁴ See, for example, *Leviticus* 17:10; *Genesis* 9:3-4.

⁵ *Q. v.*, *Acts* 15:20, 23, 28f. Cf. W. Gunther Plaut, ed., *The Torah: a modern commentary* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1981), pp. 70f.

⁶ *The Ecclesiastical History* 5.null, 1-4, 25f. We will continue to revisit this account below. Depending on the dating of our prayers and the *Didache* as a whole, this particular episode may be more or less relevant to our discussion. At the very least, though, it is indicative of potential social challenges in early church history, and of the broad circulation of community reports (with resulting social awareness).

⁷ A number of scholars have commented on the dissonance between blood-imagery in the eucharist and Jewish paradigms, and/or the difficulties it would have caused. See Michael J. Cahill, "Drinking Blood at a Kosher Eucharist?: the sound of scholarly silence," *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Winter 2002; available at http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m0LAL/4_32/94771784/print.jhtml ; Internet; accessed 23 December 2003; ; Bruce Chilton, "What Jesus Did at the Last Supper" in *Jesus: the last day* (Washington, D. C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2003), p. 10; Robert Eisenman, quoted in Vivette Porges, et al., *Who Do You Say That I Am?: reflections on Jesus in our world today* (New York: Macmillan, 1996), p. 62; also John Lightfoot, *Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Hebraica: Matthew - I Corinthians* (Hendrickson Publishers, pr. 1859, repr. 1997) 3.307; Edward Bickersteth, *A Treatise on the Lord's Supper: designed as a guide and companion to the Holy Communion*, ed. Lewis P. W. Balch (New York: Stanford & Swords, 1842), p. 20; Geza Vermes, *The Religion of Jesus the Jew* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), p. 16; Michael Green, *Matthew for Today: expository study of Matthew* (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1988), p. 253.

Furthermore, consider on this issue *Clementine Recognitions* 1.30.1; this ostensibly Jewish-Christian source goes so far as to attribute the Noahic deluge to the eating of blood. F. Stanley Jones, *An Ancient Jewish Christian Source on the History of Christianity: "Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions" 1:27-71* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), p. 56; Cahill, "Kosher."

In addition, we should note that Phrygia was a homeland of cultic activity for the pagan g-d S-b-z--s, who correlated in some fashion with the figure of D--n-s-s.⁸ This is relevant because, howbeit more or less fairly, Judaism became associated with these two d--ties in some Greco-Roman thought.⁹ Of course, pure Yahwistic sensibilities would deplore such a pagan association, and we may expect that some Jesus communities in Phrygia would have preferred to avoid being swept along into the correlation of Judaism with cultic movements.

Yet, this bears directly upon our focal issue, because the g-d D--n-s-s had a particularly violent aspect, and the D--n-sian εθος incorporated the notion of feasting upon bloody flesh.¹⁰ Other D--n-sian thought was slightly less gory, yet associated wine with blood and other food with even the blood of the g-d himself.¹¹ We may imagine that some Jesus supporters saw such dietary

⁸ Luther H. Martin, *Hellenistic Religions: an introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 109f.; S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., repr. 1975 of second edition 1928); Richard Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic Mystery Religions: their basic ideas and significance*, trans. John E. Steely (Pittsburg: The Pickwick Press, 1978), pp. 123ff. See also the Orphic hymn to S-b-z--s, which acclaims him as "blessed ruler of Phrygia and supreme king of all." Marvin W. Meyer, ed., *The Ancient Mysteries: a sourcebook of sacred texts*, Pennsylvania Press edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 108. D--n-s-s, of course, was the preeminent g-d of wine in Greco-Roman culture.

⁹ Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-c.122 CE) elucidates points of perceived connection. *Table-Talk* 4.6.1-2 (671C-672C). Martin, *Hellenistic Religions*, p. 110; Reitzenstein, *Mystery-Religions*, p. 158; Meyer, *Mysteries*, pp. 227ff.; Dennis E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: the banquet in the early Christian world* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), p. 162; Jona Lendering, "Plutarch of Chaeronea" available from <http://www.livius.org/pi-pm/plutarch/plutarch.htm> ; Internet; accessed 7 January 2004. See also Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5.4f. Louis H. Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans: primary readings* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996), p. 111.

Also, Valerius Maximus (1st century CE) may indicate a perceived correlation between Judaism and S-b-z--s; there is some manner of textual difficulty. *Memorable Deeds & Sayings* 1.3.3. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Did Ancient Jews Missionize?," *Bible Review*, August 2003, pp. 44, 47; Reitzenstein, *Mystery-Religions*, pp. 123ff.

¹⁰ Euripedes describes D--n-s-s as an eater of bloody flesh. *The Bacchae*, lines 136ff. *Euripedes, vol. III*, trans. Arthur S. Way (London: William Heinemann / New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, repr. 1919), pp. 14ff., 62f. Cf. an Orphic hymn to D--n-s-s, which portrays him as delighting in bloody activities. Meyer, *Mysteries*, p. 108. For his part, Clement of Alexandria indicates that worshippers of D--n-s-s indeed feasted upon raw flesh in frenzied rituals. *Clement of Alexandria*, trans. G. W. Butterworth (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1919, repr. 1979), pp. 30f. Clement also contrasts Christian *praxis* with D--n-sian initiation "in the loathsome distribution of raw flesh." *Exhortation to the Greeks* 12.119. Meyer, *Mysteries*, p. 250.

¹¹ On the subject of foods, Achilles Tatius (ca. 2nd century CE?) labels D--n-s-s' gift of wine as "blood so sweet," though he later refers to "the blood of the grape." *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon*, 2.2-3. Meyer, *Mysteries*, pp. 93f. Clement of Alexandria mentions that some women refrained from eating certain pomegranate seeds, believing that pomegranates sprang from the blood of D--n-s-s. *Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.17-19. Meyer, *Mysteries*, p. 246f.

imagery as obscene and pagan.¹² They also may have seen it as a potential liability, were it to become attached to their own reputation; it might have seemed offensive to outsiders, and what is more, a sense of real peril may possibly have entered into the equation. A blood libel against Jews was already current in the first half of the first century CE, and members of a new (quasi-) Jewish religion would have had little need to borrow trouble from another gory correlation.¹³ All things considered, adherents of Jesus may have been justifiably wary of being associated with D--n-s-s, and as a result some may have been that much more averse to body/blood imagery in the eucharistic celebration.

Let us conclude: if we assign our document to an agency in Phrygia, we might account not only for Jewish features in the *Didache* but also for its dearth of body/blood imagery. Given the strong Jewish presence in the region, the blood taboo could have been a major deterrent against acceptance of such imagery. Beyond this, worries over blood libel and association with pagan practice might have reinforced the taboo. Add to this a Phrygian reputation for religious creativity, and our agency could come from a background not only averse to body/blood imagery in eucharistic celebration, but also flexible enough to develop and/or embrace alternate imagery.¹⁴

¹² Consider in this regard *Ezekiel* 33:25: "Thus has the Lord G-D spoken: 'You will feed upon the blood, and you will raise your eyes toward your idols, and you will pour out blood – and you will take possession of the land?'" Smith, *Symposium*, p. 160. Cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* 12:3-7, especially v. 5.

¹³ For the blood libel, see Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.91-6. Feldman & Reinhold, *Among*, pp. 386f. Indeed, Eusebius indicates that Christians were eventually martyred under charges that included cannibalism. See fn. 22 in chapter three above; *n. b.*, an account of such martyrdoms circulated in Phrygia. For more on cannibalism/blood libel against early Christians (orthodox and Montanist), see: Epiphanius, *Against Heresies* 48.14.6; Philastrius, *Against Heresies* 49.5. Lietzmann, *History*, p. 2.201. See also: Justin Martyr, *First Apology* 26; Athenagoras, *Apology* 3; Tertullian, *Apology* 2, 4, 7; Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 8.4f., 9.5-7. De Soyres, *Montanism*, pp. 99ff.; Jo Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: a sourcebook in Roman social history* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 417ff.

¹⁴ H. M. Gwatkin writes, "[Phrygia] was a hotbed of superstitions in heathen times, and afterward of Christian heresies." *History*, p. 2.74. Consider also our depiction of sensitive and adroit agency, on pp. 22f. above.

Before we move on, though, we should note that Phrygian provenance is not essential *per se* to the dynamics of our model, as the operative factors of taboo and social concern could be present in other areas as well.¹⁵ Phrygia, however, seems especially fertile ground for our model.

4.4 -- FOCI FOR OUR MODEL

Our model, then, will hypothesize an agency behind our prayers in accordance with the discussion above. We shall say that this agency, for reasons of religious heritage and social concern, is averse to the presence of body/blood imagery in its eucharistic celebration.

At this point, it might seem that there should not be a correlation between *Didache* 9 & 10 and the eucharistic accounts in the "New Testament." The serious motivations behind our agency's aversion might seem to preempt engagement of accounts like those in *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *I Corinthians*. However, the Last Supper narrative is a prominent and weighty piece of Christian tradition; we should acknowledge that our agency, though unable to accept the body/blood concept, might embrace an alternative casting of the tradition rather than disavow it altogether. Accordingly, we will pursue this possibility as a venue for correlation.

The primary locus of difficulty for our agency would be the words spoken over the bread and the cup in the "New Testament" tradition. Naturally, then, for an alternative casting to be palatable, it would need to provide different paradigms for these phrases. As such, the words spoken over bread and cup will serve as two foci for our model. Indeed, we will demonstrate that they may provide major points of correlation between the "New Testament" accounts and our paradigm in *Didache* 9 & 10.

¹⁵ Consider, for example, the influential presence of D—n-s-s at Scythopolis, a Decapolitan city west of the Jordan River. Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, trans. S. Applebaum (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1999), p. 102.

4.5 -- THE CUP

We will begin with the words spoken over the cup.

EXAMINING THE "NEW TESTAMENT" ACCOUNTS

Before we attempt to demonstrate correlation, we must sort out the eucharistic accounts in the "New Testament," because they exhibit multiple forms for the definitive phrase over the cup.¹⁶ In *Luke* and *I Corinthians*, the form is "This cup is the new covenant in my blood"¹⁷; in *Matthew* and *Mark*, we find the form to be "This is my blood of the covenant."¹⁸ A number of issues surface here. First of all, the Lukan-Corinthian version appears to feature in some respects a theological refinement of the construct preserved in the Markan-Matthean version. *Luke* and *I Corinthians* identify the covenant as "new," whereas *Matthew* and *Mark* feature a less specific concept of covenant. Furthermore, the Lukan-Corinthian pairing more pointedly emphasizes that the blood is Jesus' own, whereas the Markan-Matthean counterpart could be understood more vaguely.¹⁹

¹⁶ At this point, we will not engage the entire phrase uttered over the cup in these accounts, but only the most crucial segment of the phrase, *i. e.*, the portion articulating how the "cup" is the "blood."

¹⁷ τούτο το ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματι μου; τούτο το ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι. *Luke* 22:20; *I Corinthians* 11:25. Barbara and Kurt Aland, *et al.*, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993, corr. 1998, pr. 1999), pp. 233; 460; Spiros Zodhiates, *et al.*, eds., *The Hebrew-Greek Key Study Bible: New American Standard Bible* (Chattanooga, TN: AMG Publishers, 1984, 1990), pp. 1388; 1520. Note, however, the textual problems in *Luke* at this point.

¹⁸ τούτο γὰρ ἐστὶν τὸ αἶμα μου τῆς διαθήκης; τούτο ἐστὶν τὸ αἶμα μου τῆς διαθήκης. *Matthew* 26:28; *Mark* 14:24. Aland & Aland, *Testamentum*, pp. 76; 138; Zodhiates, *Key Study*, pp. 1306; 1338.

¹⁹ To wit, the semantic of the Markan-Matthean construct could be understood as either "this is my blood of the covenant" or "this is my blood of the covenant." The former semantic would apparently refer to Jesus' own blood, but the latter could refer to blood that Jesus was using to mark his covenant – *n. b.*, blood of an inexplicit nature.

This latter point takes on additional significance in light of the work of Joachim Jeremias.²⁰ In his lengthy study on the eucharistic words of Jesus, Jeremias addresses the issue of which languages might lie behind the relevant accounts in the "New Testament." It is his conclusion that the eucharistic formulae in the "New Testament" derive from a precursor in Hebrew and Aramaic.²¹

This is especially pertinent because the Markan-Matthean formulation "This is my blood of the covenant" encounters grammatical difficulty in corresponding to a Hebrew or Palestinian Aramaic phrase.²² Jeremias' solution is to postulate a Hebrew or Aramaic precursor of "This is my covenant blood," which in turn could only be rendered into Greek by transposing the possessive pronoun as found in *Matthew* and *Mark*.²³ We would have, then, a potential string of development for the phrase over the cup: from "This is my covenant blood" to "This is my blood of the covenant" to "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." The string displays a connotational shift that progressively implies the blood to be Jesus' own – but both of the two earliest forms are open enough to refer to blood other than Jesus' own, which he is using to mark his covenant.²⁴

PROGRESSING TO THE FORM IN *DIDACHE* 9 & 10

We are now equipped to pursue our effort at correlation. We will posit the earliest form in our string of development above – "This is my covenant blood" – to be our *nexus* of relationship. Our previous subsection proposed that the "New Testament" accounts might have developed out of this phrase; now we will explore how the imagery in *Didache* 9 & 10 might have done the same.

²⁰ This paragraph will draw upon *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, cited above at p. 53.

²¹ Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 174ff., 186f., 196ff.

²² Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 193ff. It is not that there could not be a direct correspondence, but that the grammatical construct necessary for direct correspondence would be highly atypical. See and compare W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *The Anchor Bible: "Matthew"* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), p. 322.

²³ *Words*, pp. 194f.

²⁴ See fn. 19.

As we have noted previously, there would have been many reasons for adherents of Jesus to be troubled by blood imagery in eucharistic celebration. However, there was available to such parties a resource in the Hebrew scriptures that would have defused much of the difficulty surrounding consumption of Jesus' "covenant blood."

Genesis 49:8-12 is an account of Jacob's blessing over Judah at the close of his life. The portion of this blessing most relevant to our discussion reads:

[The shepherd's] staff will not fall away from Judah / nor the decretal stylus from between his feet / unless he enters Shiloh / and peoples' obedience [belongs] to him. Binding his donkey-colt to the vine / and the son of his female-donkey to the red grape / he cleansed his garment in the wine / and his raiment in [the] blood of grapes.²⁵

The epithet "blood of grapes" is nearly unique in the Hebrew scriptures, and is most important to our discussion.²⁶ This passage from *Genesis* would provide for blood that scrupulous parties could consume: "the blood of grapes," in the very words of holy scripture.²⁷

²⁵ Zodiates, *Key Study*, p. 74. The term rendered "staff" in the first line might otherwise be rendered "scepter." Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 1388f. Also, although they do not substantially alter the thrust of the passage, cf. alternate readings from the Samaritan tradition. Elliger & Rudolph, *Stuttgartensia*, p. 82.

²⁶ http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/words/1073626617-4586.html ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2004; http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/words/1073626755-4536.html ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2004; http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/words/1073881697-9151.html ; Internet; accessed 11 January 2004. The only other instance of the image is *Deuteronomy* 32:14 -- part of a passage also related to our prayers, as we will discuss below.

²⁷ We may interject at this point a few comments regarding use of this passage in the early church. Interestingly, Justin Martyr uses this very passage on a number of occasions to indicate that the blood of Christ is not human blood. *Dialogue with Trypho* 52-4; *I Apology* 32. See also Tertullian and Cyprian, who actually tie the passage to the eucharist. Respectively: *Against Marcion* 4.49; *Epistle* 62. Andrew McGowan, "Water in the Desert: wine, eucharist, and sacrifice in Tertullian and Cyprian" available at <http://d-v-n-t.library.vanderbilt.edu/burns/chroma/eucharist/euchMcGowan.html> ; Internet; accessed spring 2004. Finally, consider also Justin Martyr's association of the passage with the claim that demons used it to develop the figure of B-cch-s (the Latin counterpart of D—n-s-s). *I Apology* 54f.; cf. 66.

And yet we may argue that this *Genesis* passage provides more than mere phraseology for our hypothetical agency: this passage could also anchor the rationale behind our agency's understanding of Jesus' "covenant blood." Blood was, of course, portrayed in the Hebrew scriptures as emblematic of covenantal relationship.²⁸ But our agency would naturally be interested in what Jesus' "covenant blood" signified. *Genesis* 49:10f. could provide their answer, if read sensitively and in chorus with other traditional resources.

In verse eleven, Judah, having the obedience of all peoples, binds his donkey to the choice vine. By way of Christian tradition and other Hebrew scriptures, a number of meanings could be harvested from this action. First of all, "New Testament" accounts state that Jesus rode a donkey into Jerusalem in a triumphal entry, and the gospel of *Matthew* explicitly ties this action to a passage from *Zechariah* 9:9: "Behold, your king will come to you ... riding upon a donkey / and upon a donkey-colt, a son of female-donkeys."²⁹ For an interpretive audience, then, the donkey might seem to signify a vehicle of kingship, so to speak.³⁰

Drawing this back to *Genesis* 49, then, Judah might be understood as binding his vehicle of kingship to a vine. This maneuver might have been strengthened in the thought of an interpreter by the fact that *Zechariah* 9:9 and *Genesis* 49:11 employ similar Hebraic doubling in describing the animal³¹; certainly, the parallel would be noteworthy for a rabbinic mind. In any case, with the significance of the donkey accounted for, what would remain for interpretation is the vine.

²⁸ Q. v., *Exodus* 24:8; *Zechariah* 9:11.

²⁹ Cf. *Matthew* 21:1-11; *Mark* 11:1-10; *Luke* 19:28-44; *Zechariah* 9:9. Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 1246.

We may note that a number of early church writers correlate *Genesis* 49:11 with *Zechariah* 9:9. Viz., Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 53; Clement of Alexandria, *The Instructor* 1.5; Methodius, *Oration on the Palms* 4.

³⁰ Furthermore, we might imagine our agency being gratified and even encouraged in their interpretive move by the prophetic statement only two verses previous in *Zechariah*, that the Lord "will remove [the coastal Gentile's] blood from his mouth, and his loathsome things from between his teeth – and the one left remaining, indeed he [will belong] to our G-d." Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 1246.

³¹ I. e., << donkey-colt & son of his female-donkey >> and << donkey-colt & son of female-donkeys >>

The significance of the vine may also be drawn from the Hebrew bible, wherein the vine bears a number of symbolic meanings. Amongst the gamut, some passages correlate with royal imagery.³² Most important for our attention is *Psalms* 80, which builds upon vine imagery for Israel by praying for "the stem which your right [hand] has planted ... the man of your right [hand] ... the son of man you strengthened."³³ This passage is especially significant because it could provide the opportunity for an interpreter to graft in Davidic branch imagery, also from the Hebrew scriptures.³⁴ This branch imagery looked forward to a golden age under a Davidic messiah, and *Psalms* 80 would provide a stepping-stone for this branch to be cast as a vine-stem.³⁵

³² Jonathan Reed, "The Hebrew Epic and the *Didache*" in Clayton N. Jefford, ed., *The Didache in Context: essays on its text, history & transmission* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 220; Betz, "Eucharist," p. 264; cf. Kraft, *F-th-rs*, p. 168. In one case, a vine represents the king Zedekiah, with his soldiers as his leaves and/or fruit. *Ezekiel* 17. More striking is the lamentation over the princes of Israel in *Ezekiel* 19:10f.: "Your mother [was] like a vine in your blood ... and it had strong branches for rods of rulers." Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 1104. The term rendered as "rods" might otherwise be rendered "scepters"; also, the term rendered as "rulers" might springboard into a pun involving wisdom sayings, in the hand of a creative interpreter. Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 1388f.; 647f.

³³ *Psalms* 80:8-17. Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 782; cf. Betz, "Eucharist," pp. 264f.; Mazza, "Elements," p. 279; Lietzmann, *Mass*, p. 190. Lietzmann references Harnack as making the connection between the vine and *Psalms* 80.

The vine in this psalm initially represents Israel, but the royal figure constitutes a stem for this vine. Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 782; Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 483f.; http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/c/1073634292-2443.html#15 ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2004; <http://www.blueletterbible.org/words/1073634476-1675.html> ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2004; http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/words/1073634552-9022.html ; Internet; accessed 8 January 2004.

³⁴ The royal figure here is not Davidic, as this psalm comes from the northern tradition (*q. v.*, *Psalms* 80:1f.). For the Davidic harmonic, however, cf. *Isaiah* 11:1; *Jeremiah* 23:5; 33:15; *Zechariah* 3:8; 6:12. Of course, an interpreter in late antiquity might easily conflate the two strands without the slightest concern (or perhaps even awareness).

For what it may be worth, we find correlation of *Isaiah* 11 with *Genesis* 49:8-12 in Hippolytus (though with a different thrust). *Treatise on Christ and Anti-Christ* 7-13. Cf. also *Apostolic Constitutions* 6.3.11 for a merging of these passages in a melismatic epithet for Christ, and 5.3..20 for an association of the two within a catena. Last but not least, however, see fn. 29 once more above.

³⁵ We do have some evidence of a Davidic vine concept in literature from late antiquity. From the Dead Sea Scrolls, document 4Q479 may link the seed of David with vine imagery. Cf. also this fragmentary document's "booth" reference and *Acts* 15:13ff., especially verse 16; we might have a hint at a messianic tradition in 4Q479. Florentino Garcia Martinez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, paperback edition (Boston: Brill / Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), pp. 2.958f.

Also, in Clement of Alexandria we find that Jesus "poured wine on our wounded souls, the blood of David's vine." *Who Is The Rich Man That Shall Be Saved?* 29.4. The significance here is opaque, but the language is noteworthy. Also, Origen speaks of drinking "the blood of the true vine, which rose from the root of David." *Homily in Judges* 6.2. For these references and more, see Niederwimmer, "*Didache*," p. 146. [CONT.]

Bringing this piece into our interpretive mosaic, then, we would have Judah binding his vehicle of kingship to a royal vine, the Davidic branch of Jewish hope. Now, admittedly, the process we have gone through to attain this mosaic may seem a bit contrived. However, we may on the one hand note that such methods of correlating and grafting concepts are not alien to rabbinic tradition. On the other hand, we may observe that interpreters in late antiquity like Philo and Origen were willing to concoct the most abstruse interpretations of scripture, and from the *corpus* of the Apostolic Fathers, we may add the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* to our list.

Furthermore, our mosaic construct may have come together quite easily and naturally for an interpreter steeped in messianic imagery and in the Hebrew scriptures.³⁶ The association would have been effected by major icons -- donkey and branch -- and for an adherent of Jesus confirmed all the more by the epithets "son of man" and "man of your right [hand]" in *Psalms* 80, and by the Davidic acclamations of the crowd in the triumphal entry.³⁷

[CONT.] Beyond this, we may mention parabolic association of the vine with the messianic dominion in *II Baruch*, and association of superabundant vintage with the messianic era in Papias, *II Baruch*, and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5.33.3; *II Baruch* 29; 36-40; *Apocalypse of Paul* 22. Betz, "Eucharist," p. 264; Marvin Meyer, *The Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), pp. 113, 172; James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Volume I, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: apocalyptic literature & testaments* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 630ff.; J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: a collection of apocryphal Christian literature in an English translation based on M. R. James* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, rev. repr. 1999), p. 629; John Koenig, *The Feast of the World's Redemption: eucharistic origins and Christian mission* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinitarian Press International, 2000), p. 265.

³⁶ Cf. Claude Tresmontant, who connects both *Zechariah* 9 and *Genesis* 49 to Jesus' triumphal entry. He argues that Jesus "was very pointedly making reference to some very well-known texts concerning the one who was to come. We who are *goyim* living at the end of the twentieth century can only understand the import and implications of the rabbi's [Jesus'] actions if we immerse ourselves in the Hebrew Bible." *The Gospel of Matthew: translation and notes*, trans. K. D. Whitehead (Fort Royal, VA: Christendom Press, 1996), pp. 489f.

Consider also the inherent correlation of scriptural themes and modes of expression in Second Temple Jewish prayer, *q. v.*, Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: the scripturalization of prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999). On p. 201, Newman writes that the dynamic of scripturalization employs "words saturated with tradition and experience ... words which only need to be mentioned to release a series of associations, of thoughts, experiences, and emotions. The words contain more than they seemingly contain."

³⁷ *Q. v.*, *Matthew* 21:9; *Mark* 11:9f. Besides the explicitly Davidic acclamations, the other portion of the crowd's chant derives from *Psalms* 118, which also speaks of the LORD's right hand. Verses 15f. This psalm, in turn, [CONT.]

And so we have a constellation of passages – *Genesis* 49, *Zechariah* 9, and *Psalms* 80 – which might be understood together in light of the Christian tradition of Jesus' triumphal entry.

We are now prepared to trace a line of connection between the phrase "This is my covenant blood" and the words over the cup in *Didache* 9. Confronted with the initial phrase, the interpretive questions for an audience like our hypothesized agency would be "What blood?" and "What covenant?" *Genesis* 49 could provide the answer to both queries: the blood is the blood of grapes; and the covenant is Judah binding his vehicle of kingship to the royal vine, construed by way of *Psalms* 80 to be the Davidic branch. This would yield a casting of the Last Supper tradition in which the significance of the cup was not drinking Jesus' blood, but rather covenanting with the Davidic branch (*i. e.*, Jesus) under the mark of the blood of grapes.

The words uttered over the cup in *Didache* 9 are wholly in accordance with this casting: "We give thanks to you, our father, for the holy vine of David your lad, which you made known to us through Jesus your lad -- to you [be] the glory, into the ages." Furthermore, the agency behind our prayers appears to make a subtle allusion to *Psalms* 80 in the prayers' broader design. In *Didache* 10:3, our agency employs d-v-n- nomenclature that occurs nowhere in the "New Testament" or the Septuagint, but equates to nomenclature used only three times in the Hebrew scriptures -- including twice in *Psalms* 80.³⁸

[CONT.] yields a quotation that Jesus cites in conjunction with the parable of the vineyard, soon after the triumphal entry. *Psalms* 118:22f.; *Matthew* 21:42; *Mark* 12:10f. The swirl of harmonic imagery is striking, though quite probably circumstantial.

³⁸ *Psalms* 80:7 & 14. See fn. 96 in chapter two above.

In any case, we have articulated a potential venue for correlation between the "New Testament" eucharistic accounts and the prayer over the cup in the *Didache*. For each we have articulated a line of interpretation and/or redaction tracing back to an Aramaic or Hebrew phrase over the cup: "This is my covenant blood." This phrase constitutes the *nexus* for correlation of two eucharistic matrices: one in the "New Testament" and the other in the *Didache* -- one passion-driven and the other messianically-driven.

In addition, our model at this point supports the understanding of our celebration in *Didache* 9 & 10 as an actual eucharistic event based upon a Last Supper tradition. What remains to fulfill this understanding is a correlation of the words uttered over the bread in the "New Testament" accounts and in the *Didache*. To this task we now turn.

4.6 -- THE BREAD

We have described in the previous section a means for our hypothetical agency to avoid dealing with offensive blood-imagery. However, the "New Testament" eucharistic accounts involve more than this difficult imagery alone; they also incorporate cannibalistic themes in their words over the bread: "This is my body."³⁹ Indeed, as we have noted above, early Christians had to deal with capital charges on the crime of cannibalism, and of course eating human flesh would be a repugnant image to many people -- perhaps especially to those who shared Jewish attention to dietary purity.⁴⁰ We may expect that our agency would have sought means to avoid body-imagery in their eucharist as well. And, since we have articulated how our agency may have avoided blood-

³⁹ τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα μου; τοῦτο μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα. Q. v., *Matthew* 26:26, *Mark* 14:22, & *Luke* 22:19; *I Corinthians* 11:24. Aland & Aland, *Testamentum*, pp. 76, 138, 233; 460. As with the cup, at this point we will not engage the entire phrase uttered in these accounts, but only the most crucial definitive segment of the phrase, i. e., the portion articulating how the "bread" is the "body." Cf. fn. 16 above.

⁴⁰ See p. 62ff. above.

imagery while remaining tethered to an early Last Supper tradition, we may now see if a similar endeavor would be viable for the bread-component.

EXAMINING THE "NEW TESTAMENT" ACCOUNTS

Our previous efforts with the cup began with a close examination of the "New Testament" accounts, and we will retain that same approach here. To begin with, we will note that the synoptic accounts of the Last Supper locate it in a Passover setting.⁴¹ This setting will be relevant to our subsequent discussion.

Next, we will once more seek insight by identifying a Hebrew or Aramaic precursor behind our Greek accounts.⁴² Jeremias offers two options for a Semitic rendering of "body": גוף; and בשר.⁴³ The latter of these options might appear to yield our solution. The verbal root בשר means to bring news, and since the words over the bread in *Didache* 9 give thanks for "the life and knowledge which you made known to us," we might posit that wordplay somewhere in the chain of transmission could have transposed the flesh-בשר with some conjugation of the verbal form בשר or its nounal form news-בשרה -- the wordplay appears to be viable in either Hebrew or Aramaic.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Our appraisal of the data in the gospels would indicate that the Supper is specifically situated on the night leading into the 14th of *Nisan* (the Jewish day running from sunset to sunset). This was the date for the Passover sacrifice, followed by the festival-sabbath on the 15th which marked the beginning of the Feast of Unleavened Bread. *Numbers* 28:16ff. As such it would be the first day of the spring holyday cycle inclusive, though not the first day of the Feast proper. (*Matthew* 28:17 should be understood in light of *Mark* 14:12 on this score; cf. *Luke* 22:7. In these passages, the name Unleavened Bread is applied to the cycle inclusively.)

The *Mishnah* states it to be a Galilean custom to observe the 14th of *Nisan* as a quasi-holyday, ceasing from labor. *Pesachim* 4:5. Lightfoot, *Commentary*, 1.169. Accordingly, it makes sense that Jesus might instruct his disciples to prepare for the Passover celebration before the onset of pious observance. Cf. Green, *Matthew*, p. 252. The *Mishnah* also states it to be a Judean practice to do business until noon on the 14th of *Nisan*. *Pesachim* 4:5. Lightfoot, *Commentary*, 1.169. Accordingly, the Jewish leadership might not have been violating their own custom if they managed to conclude the business of Jesus' sentencing by midday.

⁴² Cf. pp. 66f. above.

⁴³ Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 198f.; Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 164; 184; 200; 1840. The same roots function similarly in both Hebrew and Aramaic.

⁴⁴ Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 163f., 1840; Marcus Jastrow, comp., *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: The Judaica Press, 1971, repr. 1996), p. 199.

However, we have another possibility that -- all things considered -- provides a superior solution, though more complicated to articulate. Besides גר and בשר, we have another option for "body," though only in Aramaic. This option is גשם, used several times in the book of *Daniel*.⁴⁵ In Hebrew, however, גשם means not "body" but "heavy rain."⁴⁶

We will engage the potential significance of the Hebrew meaning in a moment, but first we will identify our proposed *nexus* for correlation between the "New Testament" accounts and *Didache* 9 & 10. This *nexus* consists of an early Last Supper account in a semitic language, employing the phrase "This is my גשם" over the bread. As such, we suggest that the "New Testament" accounts draw from an Aramaic construal of גשם as "body," whereas *Didache* 9 draws upon a Hebrew construal.

This bifurcation in linguistic strategy is viable because of the multilingual dynamics of the first century. It is apparent from the Dead Sea Scrolls that both Hebrew and Aramaic were used in Jesus' time, and it has even been suggested that in some forms of transmission the Last Supper account employed both languages simultaneously: Aramaic for the narrative portions, and Hebrew as a *lingua sacra* for the actual words over the elements themselves.⁴⁷ Since both languages use the same alphabet and have many word-roots in common, it could have been that much easier for features of a Last Supper account to melt from one linguistic construct into another.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Daniel* 3:27f.; 4:30; 5:21; 7:11. We may point out elliptically the presence of dew and greenery in these passages. Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, pp. 1846f.; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, pp. 228, 274. The root also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls as גשםא, and in both the Scrolls and rabbinic literature as גשםא.

⁴⁶ Koehler & Baumgartner, *Lexicon*, p. 205; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 274.

⁴⁷ Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 196ff.; see also Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, third edition (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1967, repr. 1998), pp. 238f. Both Jeremias and Black reference Gustav Dalman for this premise.

⁴⁸ On this point, Stephen Delamarter has observed that most people are not linguistic purists; grammatical challenges to such melting could have been overlooked or brushed aside -- all the more under dogmatic motivations. Personal discussion, 29 August 2002.

PROGRESSING TO THE FORM IN *DIDACHE* 9 & 10

Having proposed, then, our *nexus* for correlation, let us explore the potential significance of **לחם** as a Hebrew term in a Last Supper tradition. The components we begin with on our drawing board are bread, a "heavy rain," and a Passover setting.

The Passover festival, of course, is a celebration associated with the preeminent salvific event for Jewish experience: the Exodus from Egypt. As such, we may suggest that bread labeled as a heavy rain in a Passover setting might be considered evocative of the bread rained down in the Exodus experience, *i. e.*, the manna. A most important verse for this imagery is *Exodus* 16:4:

And the LORD said to Moses, 'Here am I, raining bread to you from the heavens; and the people will go forth and they will gather the daily requisite in its day, so that I may test them – will they will walk in my instruction or not?'⁴⁹

This verse not only explicates the language of raining bread, it also correlates the giving of the rain-bread with the LORD's instruction, an association strengthened yet further by *Deuteronomy* 8:2f.:

And you will remember all the way which the LORD your G-d has led you [during] this forty-year [period] in the wilderness, in order to bring you low, to test you, to know that which [is] in your heart – will you guard his commandments or not? And he brought you low and he made you hungry, and he fed you the manna which you had not known and your f-th-rs had not known, in order to make you know that the human being will not live upon the bread alone – that the human being will live upon every proclamation of the LORD's mouth.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The term rendered "requisite" is **דבר**, which would provide an excellent springboard for correlating the rain-bread with the word of G-d – at least, for a creative interpreter. Also, "instruction" renders **תורה**. *Zodhiates, Key Study*, pp. 99, 1791; http://www.blueletterbible.org/tmp_dir/c/1081448911-2724.html#4 ; Internet; accessed 8 April 2004.

⁵⁰ *Zodhiates, Key Study*, p. 251. Cf. the meaning invested in this verse in *Matthew* 4:4. See also Bruce J. Malina, who discusses *Deuteronomy* 8:3 as an haggadic spiritualization of the manna tradition; instance of this trend may appear in *I Corinthians* 10:3f., which parallels the "spiritual food and drink" language in *Didache* 10:3. *The Palestinian Manna Tradition: the manna tradition in the Palestinian Targums and its relationship to the New Testament writings* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 24ff.; 94ff.

These verses could be seen as supplying threads for an interpretive tapestry, weaving concepts of providence and the gift of life into the iconography of the manna. Drawing upon these passages from the *Torah*, then, we may suggest that the manna could be taken as not only an icon of the LORD's life-giving providence, but also as emblematic of the life-giving word of the LORD – and, indeed, as a means for d-v-n- teaching itself.⁵¹

We will imminently correlate these observations with our material from the *Didache*. Before we do so, however, we should highlight another important piece to the mosaic of our model. The Hebrew term **דָּבָר** has had a special relationship to Passover in Jewish piety. Traditional Jewish liturgy makes a shift in its prayer for precipitation at the beginning of Passover, marking the climatic change from wet winter to drier summer; specifically, the language of the prayer shifts

⁵¹ That the manna was indeed understood as emblematic of d-v-n- knowledge is apparent from the writings of Philo, whose standard *midrash* on manna follows these lines. *The Worse Attacks the Better* 118; *Who Is the Heir?* 79f.; *Sacrifices of Abel and Cain* 86; *The Preliminary Studies* 170-4. Also, we may note with special interest the following passages: *Allegorical Interpretation* 3.174ff., which engages the manna in light of *Deuteronomy* 8:3 itself [!]; 2. 84ff., which portrays the manna as an antidote to scattering (cf. *Didache* 9:4); *Decalogue* 14-7, which correlates manna and *Torah*; and *Who Is the Heir?* 191, which images the d-v-n- logos as the apportioner of manna/wisdom. Peder Borgen, et al. *The Philo Index: a complete Greek word index to the writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company / Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 211. We have in Philo, then, quite interesting harmonics with both our interpretive texts from the *Torah* (as is to be expected) and our prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10 (as is remarkable). But most important for our present interest is the actual case-example in Philo of our proposed emblematic correlation.

Furthermore, this association between a foodstuff and d-v-n- instruction may have seemed all the more natural due to a Jewish tradition associating mealtimes with discussion of the revealed *Torah*:

"R. Simeon says, 'Three who ate at a single table and did not talk about teachings of *Torah* while at that table are as though they ate from dead sacrifices But three who ate at a single table and did talk about teachings of *Torah* while at that table are as if they ate at the table of the Omnipresent, blessed is he'"

Mishnah Pirke 3:3; cf. *Sirach* 9:15f. Smith, *Symposium*, pp. 138f.

If mealtimes were an appropriate time to pursue knowledge, then a meal might have been an appropriate venue for celebrating knowledge as well. Cf. on this point *Tosefta Berakhoth* 6:1, which pointedly correlates the benediction for the *Torah* and commandments with the prescribed benedictions for the meal, based upon the same grounds of institution in *Deuteronomy* 8:10. Cf. fn. 31 in chapter three above.

Finally, for Christian application in this vein, see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 4.16.3. In discussing G-d's revelation to the Israelites, he says "[G-d] fed [the f-th-rs] with manna, that they might receive food for their souls" – and then cites *Deuteronomy* 8:3. Roberts & Donaldson, *F-th-rs*, vol. I, p. 481.

from גשם (hard rains) to טל (dew).⁵² The *Mishnah* describes some form of this liturgical practice, so it may have been extant at the time of Jesus or at the time that our eucharistic traditions were being shaped.⁵³

The words "This is my גשם," then, uttered over the bread in a Passover setting, might be understood as implying that the rain-bread, signifying to some extent G-d's revelation, was shifting from a season of plenty to a leaner time.⁵⁴ In light of Jesus' imminent death, the imagery would be especially meaningful and even poignant in a Last Supper tradition. What is more, the παθος of the whole may have been reinforced by its resonance with *Deuteronomy* 32:1-3, where Moses opens his farewell song to Israel with the words:

Listen, heavens / and I will speak / and you will hear, earth / the sayings of my mouth. My teaching will drip like the rain / you will trickle, my saying, like the dew / [then again, also] like driving rains upon vegetation / and like showers upon a plant. For I will cry out the name of the LORD / ascribe greatness to our G-d!⁵⁵

⁵² Idelsohn, *Liturgy*, pp. 196f.; "Subject: soc.culture.jewish FAQ: Observance, Marriage, Women in Judaism (4/12)," available at <http://www.cs.uu.nl/wais/html/na-dir/judaism/FAQ/04-Observance.html> ; Internet; accessed 19 July 2002 and 10 January 2004; Karl D. Coke, "G-d, Make it Rain!," available at http://www.restorationfoundation.org/volume%2014/53_14.htm ; Internet; accessed 15 August 2002; Janine Schloss, "Shemini Atzeret," available at http://www.healthekids.net/course.phtml?course_id=556 ; Internet; accessed 15 August 2002; "The Prayer for Rain," available at <http://jewishnewyear.com/jewishnewyear.com/holidays/tishrei/5844> ; Internet; accessed 15 August 2002; "'Tefilat Geshem' - The Prayer for Rain (scanned material from ArtScroll Sukkot Machzor)," available at <http://www.reporter-news.com/prayforrain/tefilatgeshem.html> ; Internet; accessed 15 August 2002; Francis L. Cohen, "Geshem" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901-06), available at http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=195&letter=G & http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view_friendly.jsp?artid=195&letter=G&pid=0 ; Internet; accessed 13 October 2002.

⁵³ *Taanit* 1:1f. Idelsohn, *Liturgy*, pp. 196f.; Cohen, "Geshem."

⁵⁴ Such imagery may have been further abetted by the fact that dewfall is also explicitly correlated with the manna in the Hebrew scriptures. *Q. v.*, *Exodus* 16:13f.; *Numbers* 11:9. Note also that the manna ceased from the children of Israel with the holyday of Passover. *Joshua* 5:10ff. in the Masoretic Text and *Targum Jonathan*; cf. *Deuteronomy* 34:7 in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*. Malina, *Manna*, pp. 62; 77ff.

⁵⁵ Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 283. We may note at this juncture similar imagery in literature from late antiquity: *Sirach* 1:19 speaks of Wisdom raining down "knowledge of understanding," and 1QH^a 16.16 speaks of d-v-n-ly-given revelation as גשם in the singer's mouth. Garcia Martinez & Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, pp. 147, 180f. Cf. also Tertullian, *On Repentance* 6.

Strikingly, the verses of this swan song assemble themes of instruction and rain/dew (associated in our model with the manna), along with a reference to vegetation (which could be construed obliquely as evocative of the vine). Additional parallels with our prayers may be found in the reference to the d-v-n- name, which also appears in the prayer of *Didache* 10:2, and in the exhortation to "ascribe greatness to our G-d," which is surely appropriate to the prayers in *Didache* 10:3. What is more, later in the song we find the only reference to the blood of the grape in the Hebrew scriptures besides that of *Genesis* 49.⁵⁶ These redounding parallels suggest that Moses' song could rightfully be added to our set of key interpretive texts from the *Torah*.

Now, we may correlate our material from *Didache* 9 & 10 with our observations so far. As we have indicated, *Didache* 9 prescribes the following words over the bread in its eucharistic celebration: "We give thanks to you, our father, for the life and knowledge which you made known to us through Jesus your lad -- to you [be] the glory, into the ages." This phrase hits two of the major concepts which we have associated with the manna: d-v-n- instruction and life. In the further beyond of our prayers, we may also find a nod to the third thread of our manna-tapestry: the theme of providence emerges in 10:3 with the Lord's gift of both physical and spiritual food and drink, coupled with yet another mention of the gift of life.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Q. v., *Deuteronomy* 32:14.

⁵⁷ Interestingly, we may point out a consonance between our noteworthy term in 10:1 -- ἐμπλησθῆναι or "being filled up" -- and the concept of satiation attached to the manna in *Psalms* 78:24f. Cf. fn. 59 below.

Let us, then, articulate concisely our chain of correlation as we have proposed it. Our *nexus* of correlation is a semitic statement over the bread in a Last Supper tradition: "This is my אני." The "New Testament" accounts would derive from this the sense "This is my body," following an Aramaic construal. The agency behind our prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10 would follow a Hebrew construal to perceive an iconic manna, connoting d-v-n-ly-given life and knowledge. Both versions derive their understandings from a Last Supper tradition, both commemorate a loss in Jesus' death ... and both interface with themes of imparting life.

4.7 -- TESTING THE MODEL: INTERNAL STRENGTHS

At this point, we have articulated a model that correlates the "New Testament" eucharistic accounts with our prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10, and which does so by way of the words spoken over the cup and the bread in both traditions. This model substantially confirms our thesis that it is possible to articulate such a viable correlation. However, to bolster both our thesis and the viability of our model, we may test it on a number of points. In this subsection, we will examine the model for its internal strengths; in the next, we will explore a venue for external corroboration.

We will begin by articulating our criteria for examining our model's internal strengths. First, we should see if our model is viable in the milieu we have attributed to it. Second, we should see if it is holistically harmonious with the passages it engages. Third, we should see if it has the potential to be theologically meaningful, and thus viable in actual devotional practice.

On the first point, we find that the *Didache* branch of our model is exceedingly fit for its milieu as we have posited it: one influenced by Jewish paradigms and familiar with Hebrew literature. To begin with, our model involves major concepts of Jewish thought in late antiquity, *e. g.*, Davidic messianic hopes, wisdom and teaching, and the focal salvific event of the Exodus.

Also, in our model we find these themes being engaged in a most appropriate venue, in that literature which would have been most significant to Jewish heritage, *i. e.*, the Hebrew scriptures. Within these themes and this literature, our model invokes specifically Jewish imagery, *i. e.*, the Davidic branch and the manna. And finally, our model takes consideration of two major languages which would have been culturally significant for the Jewish community of late antiquity, in terms of literature, imagery, and even minority identity, *i. e.*, Aramaic and Hebrew. All of these factors befit in a natural manner the milieu we have posited for the *Didache* branch of our model.

We have not devoted so much time to engaging the milieu of the "New Testament" accounts, but our model is viable in this venue as well, inasmuch as Semitic substrata to the Greek gospels are widely (if variously) acknowledged.⁵⁸

Secondly, we find that our model is holistically harmonious with the passages it engages; that is to say, our model fits not only the focal words over the elements, but also the remainder of material in these passages. We may first attend to the *Didache* material, where themes and imagery from our model recur in chapter 10.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Q. v.*, p. 61 above. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company / Livonia, MI: Dove Booksellers, 1997). Also, see sundry literature including: Jeremias, *Words*; Black, *Approach*; Tresmontant, *Matthew*; David Bivin and Roy Blizzard, Jr., *Understanding the Difficult Words of Jesus: new insights from a Hebraic perspective*, revised edition (Shippensburg, PA: Destiny Image Publishers, 1983/84, rev. 1994); Jean Carmignac, *The Birth of the Synoptic Gospels*, trans. Michael J. Wrenn (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1987); Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus: considered in the light of post-biblical Jewish writings and the Aramaic language*, trans. D. M. Kay (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, ca. 1902, repr. 1997); Torrey, *Translated*; Tresmontant, *The Hebrew Christ: language in the Age of Gospels*, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1989). It bears mentioning that not every argument in these latter works is fully sustainable, but this does not nullify the value of their explorations.

Cf. also A. F. J. Klijn, "Patristic Evidence for Jewish Christian and Aramaic Gospel Tradition" in Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson, eds., *Text and Interpretation: studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

⁵⁹ The messianic imagery of the cup recurs in 10:6. For the bread, the theme of revealed knowledge appears in 10:2, and the concepts of providence and life show up in 10:3. For what it may be worth, we may mention again the satiation link in 10:1, *q. v.*, fn. 57 above. Of course, each of these parallels could transpire without the existence of our model as we have articulated it, since primary themes abide within 9:2f. to begin with. However, the recurrence of these [CONT.]

In addition, as noted above, we may find in period literature some manner of correlation between d-v-n- knowledge and messianic imagery as expressed in the term $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ⁶⁰; this term, of course, surfaces in not only the blessings over cup and bread but also again in chapter 10. Furthermore, for whatever it may be worth, when we examine period literature we can find vine imagery correlated to a theme which we have associated with the manna in our model, and *vice versa*.⁶¹ As such, the two might seem adroitly matched.

For the eucharistic accounts of the "New Testament," our model asserts that these have a Semitic understory behind them in the line of transmission, and that the Lukan-Corinthian pairing in one case exhibits in some respects a theological refinement over its Matthean-Markan counterpart.⁶² These observations are harmonious with the remainder of the eucharistic accounts in

[CONT.] themes may indicate their importance to the theological orientation of the prayers *in toto*, and at any rate it is worth mentioning that our explanation is not utterly impertinent to the remainder of these prayers.

On a point of thematic parallelism and diction, we may note that *Sirach* 39:25-27 identifies the "blood of the grape" as one of the "good things created from the beginning for the good [people]." Brenton, *Septuagint*, p. 109. This fits closely with the thought expressed in 10:3, and since we have previously identified *Sirach* as a resource for the *Didache*, the resonance here is especially noteworthy. *Q. v.*, pp. 11, 16 above.

Also, we find that our controversial $\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ is fitting with a theme of satiation attendant to the manna tradition. *Q. v.*, *Psalm* 78:24f.; 105:40; also *Exodus* 16:8 in *Targumim Neofiti* and *Pseudo-Jonathan*; 16:12 in *Targum Neofiti*. Malina holds the *Exodus* 16 materials to be pre-Mishnaic. Malina, *Manna*, pp. 31ff.; 35f.; 45 and vicinity.

⁶⁰ *Q. v.*, p. 43 above.

⁶¹ The manna's theme of knowledge is harmonic with the portrayal of wisdom as a vine in *Sirach* -- a resource for the *Didache*, as we have just mentioned in fn. 59. We may also mention the presence of both bread and wine as part of Wisdom's feast in *Proverbs* 9:1-5, which Origen correlates with *Deuteronomy* 8:3 in *De Principiis* 2.11. The messianic imagery of the vine is harmonic with the association of manna with the messianic era in *II Baruch* 29 (ca. early 2nd century). Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 616f.; 630f.; C. K. Barrett, ed., *The New Testament Background: writings from ancient Greece and the Roman Empire that illuminate Christian origins*, revised edition (HarperSanFrancisco, 1989), p. 336; Stern, *Commentary*, pp. 929f. Cf. Betz, "Eucharist," p. 264. The association of manna and the messiah is apparently also extant in *Midrash Qoheleth* and the targum to *Song of Songs* 4:5, so the *II Baruch* passage may be indicative of a broader tradition. Lightfoot, *Commentary*, p. 3.305; Malina, *Manna*, pp. 88f. Finally, the sense of covenant connoted by the "blood of grapes" finds a parallel in the manna of our key text in *Deuteronomy* 8:3, where the phrase "proceeds from the mouth" has been identified as an idiom for "promise" in Hebrew and Aramaic. Malina, *Manna*, pp. 74ff.

⁶² *Q. v.*, p. 66 above.

these passages. On the one hand, although Jeremias identifies a relative graecization of semitisms from *Mark* to *Matthew* and *Luke* and then to *I Corinthians*, even in the lattermost he identifies three remaining semitisms.⁶³ On the other hand, when we compare the four accounts we can see that the Lukan-Corinthian pairing adds the explicit command to repeat the ritual observance "in remembrance of me," whereas the Matthean-Markan pairing makes no mention of such a command.⁶⁴ This explication of ongoing practice would seem to be yet another refinement of the account preserved in the Matthean-Markan pairing, much like the ones mentioned in our previous discussion.⁶⁵

For both the "New Testament" accounts and the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10, then, we see that our model is holistically harmonious with these passages.

Finally, we find that our model carries the potential to be theologically meaningful. This is important because a model with shallow theological significance would seem less viable historically; people scarcely develop sacred practices without investing them with serious meaning.

To begin with, we may set aside the "New Testament" accounts in this venue; our model does not really concern itself with their theological significance, but only their mechanics and their potential to offend. When it comes to the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10, however, we find that our model yields a bounty of theological significance as a commemoration, interpretation, and representation of the Last Supper.

⁶³ Jeremias, *Words*, pp. 173-186.

⁶⁴ Robert L. Thomas and Stanley N. Gundry, *A Harmony of the Gospels: with explanations and essays, using the text of the New American Standard Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1978), pp. 212f. Again, note the textual problems in Luke at this point. *Q.* v., p. 66 above.

⁶⁵ *Q.* v., p. 66 above.

First we will engage the setting for the celebration itself. In the Last Supper, Jesus is making his formal farewell to his intimate disciples, and giving them special words to remember him by. As such, in our model we have an astounding intersection of farewell speech imagery: Jacob's formal farewell in the blessing of his sons in *Genesis* 49 -- where we get our "blood of grapes" imagery and interface with the messianic thread; Moses' formal farewell to Israel in his song in *Deuteronomy* 32 -- where we find his instruction falling like rain upon the greenery, and encounter the only other instance of the blood of the grape in Hebrew scripture; and last but not least, Jesus' farewell in the Last Supper -- where he uses the blood of grapes to mark his messianic covenant and hints that the downpour of his teaching will fade to dew with this Passover.

This intersection of farewell speeches is not only artful, but also enhances the theological significance of the whole. By such intersection, Jesus is placed in the company of the great patriarch Israel himself, and also the great lawgiver Moses. As such, these associations celebrate his valid connection with the people of G-d, and with their *Torah* -- which is to say, their covenant, their font of wisdom, their way of life, and their special possession. These associations might also be construed to highlight his own role as lawgiver and leader to the family of his disciples. The theological impact of this parallelism can be quite weighty.

Beyond this, let us move to the significance of the elements themselves. In our model, the cup derives its meaning from *Genesis* 49:10f., which indicates not only that Judah binds his donkey-colt to the vine, but also that he "cleanse[s] ... his raiment in the blood of grapes."⁶⁶ As such, the whole of *Genesis* 49:10f. could be understood to represent the effects of the messianic covenant: the covenant could be construed as cleansing those who entered into it⁶⁷; also, with wine

⁶⁶ See p. 68 above.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Revelation* 7:14, where there is washing of robes in the blood of the Lamb. See also *Zechariah* 3:1-10, which incorporates not only cleansing of garments, branch imagery, and a vine, but also a priest named Jesus (*i. e.*, Joshua).

(or grape-juice) as a staining agent, the covenant could be construed as imparting the character/coloration of itself or of the vine. By drinking the blood of grapes, an adherent of Jesus could be pledging commitment to their messiah, while simultaneously celebrating that their committed relationship with him would cleanse them and indelibly alter their own character.

As for the rain-bread, connoting providence, knowledge, and life -- it could be construed near-melismatically. Receiving it could be an acknowledgement that Jesus' teaching was no longer available in the abundance of the former season, yet also an affirmation that knowledge would still come forth in the season thereafter, howbeit in less of a torrent.⁶⁸ Naturally, receiving the rain-bread could be an acknowledgement that knowledge and life are gifts from the LORD, and that he is both the one to thank and the one to rely upon for providence in time of need. The arrival of the manna day-by-day could be seen as iconic of Jesus' lesson that one should live in trust and be concerned only for the needs of the present.⁶⁹ Then again, eating the rain-bread could also be a reminder that humans need to feed upon the revealed knowledge of G-d even as upon physical nourishment.⁷⁰ And, as found in *Didache* 9:3, receiving Jesus' rain-bread could be an affirmation that his teaching is in fact life-giving, and revelation from G-d.

⁶⁸ See pp. 77f. above.

⁶⁹ *Exodus* 16:4; *Matthew* 6:25ff., especially verse 34. Cf. the Lord's prayer and its petition for the day's allotment of bread. *Matthew* 6:11; *Luke* 11:3; *Didache* 8:2.

⁷⁰ See, again, *Deuteronomy* 8:2f.; pp. 76f. above.

And so we find that the elements can carry rich theological and ritual significance. Last but not least, however, we wish to highlight the significance that our model would lend to the celebration of the act. In our model, the blood of grapes is being used to, in effect, cut a covenant with the partakers; this much is obvious. We may correlate this with the passages we cited above -- *Exodus* 16:4 and *Deuteronomy* 8:2f. -- which state that the manna was given to test whether or not the people would walk in the LORD's instruction, keeping his commandments.⁷¹ Both of these components, then -- cup and bread -- could be seen as emblematic *nexxii* for major personal choices. The offering of the cup poses the question: "Will you covenant with the Davidic messiah?" And the reception of the cup confirms a binding, life-changing relationship with Jesus. The offering of the rain-bread poses the challenge: "Will you live by the LORD's revelation, trusting in it day-by-day?" And the reception of the bread confirms obedient trust in the life offered through Jesus' teaching.⁷²

And for those who took the plunge and shared in this ritual meal, the prayers of thanksgiving in *Didache* 9 & 10 would be proper offerings of joy and gratitude for the gifts which the Father had given through his lad Jesus.

We see, then, that our model provides for a serious amount of theological significance, and what is more, for a deeply meaningful ritual celebration of the Lord's Supper. We have also seen it to be viable in its milieu and harmonious with the broader scope of both *Didache* 9 & 10 and the "New Testament" eucharistic accounts. As such, we have identified internal strengths to our model that help to enhance its viability. However, we have more than internal evidences to bolster our model, and so we turn to our next venue.

⁷¹ *Q. v.*, p. 76 above.

⁷² Note also the order of covenant-then-obedience, in light of *Mishnah Berakhoth* 2:2:

"Said R. Joshua b. Qorha, 'Why does [the passage of] *Shema* precede [that of] 'And it shall come to pass [if you keep my commandments]?' So that one may first accept upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven and afterwards may accept the yoke of the commandments.'"

4.8 -- TESTING THE MODEL: EXTERNAL CORROBORATION

It is one thing to demonstrate that a model is internally strong and consistent. It is yet another thing to demonstrate that this hypothetical construct ever existed historically, outside of the scholar's own mind. In this subsection, we will consider a major source which may yield external corroboration of our model as we have articulated it. This source is the "New Testament" gospel of *John*.⁷³

Strangely, *John* has no explicit paradigm for the eucharist in its Last Supper narrative. Rather, we find its treatment of eucharistic issues embedded in two passages -- one adjunct to the Last Supper pericope and one attendant to the miraculous feeding of the multitude. In these passages, we may discern not only a more-and/or-less pointed critique of our model, but also support for other paradigms in its stead -- paradigms more favorable to ascendant perspectives in the church.

We will begin with the passage that engages the bread. *John* chapter 6 begins with the feeding of the five thousand⁷⁴; after this miracle, Jesus withdraws from the multitude, only to be pursued by them.⁷⁵ When the crowd finds Jesus, he rebukes them for seeking him out of a desire

⁷³ There may also be a slight glimmering in the late *Acts of Thomas*, where a eucharistic catena includes a couplet involving dew of goodness and a regal house. Section 158. However, this is quite tenuous as a piece of evidence. William Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. II, revised edition, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 323; 401f.

⁷⁴ We may wonder why the eucharistic imagery is embedded here instead of in the Lord's Supper narrative in *John* 13ff. The question is worthy, and we do not have a comprehensive answer. However, a link between the miraculous feeding accounts and the Last Supper has been proposed, with an eye to certain common terminology in all four gospel accounts and *I Corinthians* (i. e., "took"/"gave thanks"/"broke"/"gave"). W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *The Anchor Bible: "Matthew"* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 322, 178f. We may extend this observation by noting that in the Matthean-Markan pairing the root *ευχαριστεω* is only explicated on two occasions: one with the cup in the Last Supper narrative; and the other with the multiplication of loaves. Marshall, *Concordance*, p. 440; *Matthew* 15:36; 26:27; *Mark* 8:6; 14:23. The two occurrences of the root *ευχαριστεω* in *John* occur in the multiplication narrative and at the raising of Lazarus. Marshall, *Concordance*, p. 440; *John* 6:11; 11:41.

⁷⁵ Verses 1-24.

for perishable food (viz., loaves of bread).⁷⁶ Afterward, the multitude persists in its bread-fixation, invoking the Mosaic gift of manna from heaven in an effort to pry a miracle out of Jesus; in this, one gets the impression that the crowd has not altogether abandoned their gastronomic intent.⁷⁷

Jesus' response is to make a series of comments that repeatedly depreciate the crowd's perspective. First, he notes that Moses did not give the manna, but rather G-d; furthermore, he counterposes himself as the life-giving bread which has come down from heaven.⁷⁸ Next, he points out that the ancients who ate the manna died, and juxtaposes this with the assertion that whoever eats his flesh and drinks his blood will have eternal life -- while those who do not so eat have no life in them.⁷⁹ As a result of this imagery, many of Jesus' disciples withdraw from him, but the twelve remain in his company.⁸⁰

This sequence from *John* 6 seems designed to neutralize a paradigm much like our model. On the one hand, major themes in our model appear to have been incorporated into the chapter, yet nuanced slightly to fit *John's* more heavily Christocentric orientation. As such, the teaching of G-d is not merely celebrated as having been given through Jesus, but is portrayed as drawing people to Jesus.⁸¹ Furthermore, the gift of life is not only given through Jesus, but Jesus himself becomes the personal resurrector.⁸²

⁷⁶ *John* 6:26f.

⁷⁷ *John* 6:28-31. The Mosaic character of the gift is not explicated, but is evident in the request to see Jesus' work or sign; in context, the implication would appear to be that the crowd sees manna as Moses' verifying work or sign. See also Pseudo-Philo, *Antiquities* 20.8, where the manna comes for the sake of Moses, and Josephus, *Antiquities* 3.1.31, where it comes as a favor to Moses; cf. *Deuteronomy* 34:7 in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, where the last period of manna comes due to the merits of Moses. Malina, *Manna*, pp. 62; 90.

⁷⁸ *John* 6:32-42, 47f.

⁷⁹ *John* 6:48-58.

⁸⁰ *John* 6:60-69.

⁸¹ *Q. v.*, *John* 6:45f.

⁸² *Q. v.*, *John* 6:38-40, 44, 54.

But *John 6* goes far beyond parallel imagery, else we could posit merely a common milieu without proximal interrelation. On the contrary, the chapter virtually lambastes the model we have articulated; its Jesus pointedly devalues the manna as perishable food for perishing people -- a direct contrast to the life-imagery associated with the "rain-bread" in our model.⁸³ In the manna's place is a more personal identification of the bread with Jesus himself. Beyond this, the dynamics of providence and trust celebrated in our model seem obliquely requalified in *John 6*, as hope for material provision is rebuked and hope for spiritual provision simultaneously elevated.

But the most vehement swipe at a paradigm like our model is the passage's trampling upon sensitivity to body/blood imagery. *John 6* not only affirms the offensive iconography,⁸⁴ but in fact pushes it further than any other "New Testament" witness. Where the other accounts have "body" and "blood," this passage holds out "flesh" and "blood" -- a significant intensification of imagery.⁸⁵ What is more, the rhetoric seems to escalate so far as to deny life to those who might refuse corporal imagery to the eucharist.⁸⁶ Most of all, this passage brings its whole *corpus* of rhetoric to bear upon the very kind of agency which we have hypothesized in our model, when it explicitly admits that many disciples of Jesus have withdrawn, unwilling to accept his phraseology.

⁸³ *John* 6:27, 49, 58; see, e. g., pp. 76f. above.

⁸⁴ "[M]y flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink." *John* 6:55 This rendering is from the NASB. Zodhiates, *Key Study*, p. 1408.

⁸⁵ See and compare *Matthew* 26:26-29; *Mark* 14:22-25; *Luke* 22:19f.; *I Corinthians* 11:24-29; *John* 6:51-63. The primary shift is between σῶμα ("body") in the other accounts and σαρξ ("flesh") in *John*. Cf. Chilton, "Supper," p. 20.

⁸⁶ *John* 6:53.

And so the correlation of *John* 6 with our model is indeed striking. Nearly every major feature of the bread-imagery in our model has its analogue in this passage, with some facets being mildly recast and others being pointedly denounced. What is more, this coexists with rhetoric that polarizes the very controversy at the heart of our model. Altogether, this suggests quite strongly that *John* chapter 6 is vying with a paradigm similar to (if not substantially identical to) our model.

And yet this chapter is only a half of our evidence on this front, for we find an analogue to our model's vine-imagery within *John*'s actual Last Supper narrative.⁸⁷ This narrative also features imagery germane to our model, diversely recast to suit ascendant paradigms in the early church. Also, though the rhetoric here is not quite so obvious as in chapter 6, it is potentially discernable.

First of all, we may identify major features of our model that are, once more, incorporated into this passage from *John*. A most obvious parallel is the vine-imagery set forward by Jesus in 15:1ff. As with the bread in chapter 6, this imagery is more personally identified with Jesus than its analogue is in our model; rather than Jesus being a branch of the Davidic vine, in *John* 15 he is portrayed as the main stem of the vine, with his disciples as branches from him. Furthermore, whereas the blood of grapes was seen to have a cleansing effect in our model, we find the same dynamic in 15:3, but with Jesus' word making his branches clean. These recastings yield not only a more elevated Christology but also an attenuated messianism -- both being more suited to ascendant paradigms of the developing church.

⁸⁷ *Q. v.*, *John* 15-17. I owe thanks to Stephen Delamarter for directing my attention to the vine-imagery in *John*. Personal discussion, 29 August 2002.

In addition to these dynamics, we may note that *John* 15 and 16 include some weighty rhetoric, though it may not be apparent at first that an agency like the one in our model is the intended rival. We find first of all a polarizing rhetoric, in Jesus' warning that his disciples will be expelled from the synagogue -- a reference that might not only encompass mainstream Judaism, but also along with it a Jewishly-influenced agency like that in our model. Furthermore, we find in chapter 15 the image of G-d as a vinedresser, taking away and burning the unfruitful branch which does not abide in the true vine; this may be a veiled threat against an agency like that in our model, for in chapter 6 the scrupulous are portrayed as having withdrawn from Jesus.⁸⁸

In addition to this kind of polarizing rhetoric, we may also find a measure of apologetic in chapters 15 and 16. First of all, a great deal of attention is given to the fact that Jesus' disciples will be hated by the world; indeed, people will think that they are serving G-d in killing the disciples, but only because they do not know either G-d or Jesus.⁸⁹ When understood as part of a veiled eucharistic context, this strand in the narrative could be multivalent: on the one hand, Jesus' words yield a certain validation to those who endure martyrdom under charges of cannibalism, for their Lord foresaw their plight; on the other hand, the theme of knowledge articulated in our model is turned about implicitly upon those who oppose the Johannine tradition.

Secondly, an apologetic may be discerned at *John* 16:24, where Jesus states that he has been speaking in figurative language, but will communicate plainly in the future. If we may discern a similar thrust to the spiritualizing statement of *John* 6:63, then we may find parallel apologetics with both bread and vine imagery; both could emphasize that the offensive body/blood imagery of the eucharist is only metaphorical, and therefore not something to be scandalized about.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Q.* v., vv. 2-6; pp. 88ff. above.

⁸⁹ *John* 15:18-16:4.

⁹⁰ The dynamic of these apologetics could also appeal to the spiritualizing thought apparent at *Didache* 10:3, making them an especially suitable tool against our agency.

Now, at this point we must admit that the points of rhetoric we have cited for chapters 15 & 16 are not overtly apparent in their context -- at least, not in the same way that the rhetoric of chapter 6 is manifest. These later chapters have their own flow of topics and thought, and indeed we do not suggest that eucharistic issues are the only ones on the table. However, we have reason to argue that there is an undercurrent in *John* chapters 15-17 -- one comprehensively intertwined with the themes and images in our model. The number of common themes is striking, including features which we have already surveyed: namely, vine-imagery; d-v-n- knowledge⁹¹; and issues related to persecution and figurative language. In addition, when the vine conversation in chapter 15 evolves into a discussion of Jesus' commandments, a play on servant/master relationships emerges, and this is notably reminiscent of the $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ -imagery in the prayers of our model.⁹²

Beyond these, a rather large number of harmonics crop up when we examine parallels between *John* 15-17 and the broader field of *Didache* 9 & 10. We can discern in *John* chapters 15 and 16 an adaptation of the unity theme in *Didache* 9 & 10: to begin with, the issue of being scattered appears at *John* 16:32; what is more, we have the iconographic vine-branch unity in *John* chapter 15, which is a noteworthy analogue to the grain-bread unity in *Didache* 9:4.⁹³ Nearly as striking, in *John* 17 (what has commonly been termed the "high priestly" prayer of Jesus) we find a veritable rhapsody upon various themes found in *Didache* 9 & 10.⁹⁴

⁹¹ We may augment our work on this point by pointing out the entrance of the Holy Spirit as revealer of knowledge in *John* 16:7ff., in this, we find yet another parallel with our theme of d-v-n- teaching.

⁹² See our discussion above at p. 43. Of course, in our model the master-servant pairing was G-d/messiah, whereas in *John* the orientation is Jesus/disciples.

⁹³ We may note that the eschatological component is reduced in *John*: for the *Didache*, prayer is still being made for a future unification of the scattered church; for *John*, the unity is ever-present in a disciple's abiding with Jesus.

⁹⁴ The numerous themes are as follows: Name (*John* 17:6, 11f., 26; *Didache* 10:2f.); Glory (*John* 17:1, 4f., 10, 22, 24; *Didache* 9:2f., 10:2, 4f.); Unity (*John* 17:11, 21ff.; *Didache* 9:4, 10:5); Knowledge/Teaching/Revealing (*John* 17:3, 6f., 8, 14, 20, 25f.; *Didache* 9:3, 10:2); Sanctifying (*John* 17:17, 19; *Didache* 10:5f.); Perfecting (*John* 17:23; *Didache* 10:5); Love (*John* 17:23, 26; *Didache* 10:5); Eternal Life (*John* 17:2f.; *Didache* 9:3, 10:3); Asking (*John* 17:9, 15, 20; *Didache* 9:4, 10:5). A number of these themes also have outcroppings in *John* 16, e. g., vv. 14, 23, 26f. See and compare Betz, "Eucharist," pp. 255ff.

It appears, then, that our cat's-cradle of common threads extends even beyond the parameters of our model to include other material from *Didache* 9 & 10. This may suggest that *John* chapters 6 & 15-17 engage not only a paradigm along the lines of our model, but indeed a tradition articulated in much the same fashion as our prayers *in toto* from the *Didache*.⁹⁵ And this reinforces our proposition that *John* 15 & 16 include oblique commentaries on eucharistic issues, though some might seem unrelated on the surface.

In summary, then, we have found in the gospel of *John* a series of passages that correlate thematically with *Didache* 9 & 10. When compared to our model, a number of the common themes in these passages seem to have been requalified to suit ascendant paradigms in the church, thus elevating Christology while diminishing eschatological focus and Davidic messianism. What is more, *John* introduces rhetoric that explicitly depreciates the manna imagery of our model and casts a negative light on those who are scrupulous over the imagery of eating Jesus' flesh and blood. When all of these factors are taken into account, we may find in *John* a certain corroboration for the historical viability of our model: if we have not exactly found a smoking gun, so to speak, we have encountered a highly serviceable trigger-lock.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ The correlation might be ratcheted even tighter if the role of the twelve in these Johannine passages were construed as a jab at the titular "Teaching of the [Twelve] Apostles" of the *Didache*.

⁹⁶ It remains to explore the precise interrelationship between *John* and our model. Given a setting for our model in Phrygia and the traditional link between Johannine tradition and Ephesus, we may postulate a debate within Asia Minor over approaches to the eucharist. Obviously, the Ephesian strain more closely corresponded to the ecliptic paradigm.

From this, then, respective dating would pose a minor challenge. Many scholars would assign *John* to around the close of the first century, which would predate the Gallic martyrdoms which we have mentioned previously. See fn. 6 above. However, *John* 15-17 may be a subsequent interpolation to the gospel, given the close of chapter 14, and so its discussion of persecution might yet engage the Gallic accounts. Cf., however, Ellis, *Genius*, p. 225. Another possibility is that the Gallic persecutions were not the first of their kind, which would allow us to push back the dating for both *Didache* 9 & 10 and *John* 15-17. We may let the discussion rest there, except to say that if the martyrdom component were removed from our model altogether, the remainder would still be quite viable without it. The Jewish blood taboo and simple distaste for pagan parallels could yield sufficient impetus for an alternative eucharistic paradigm, and the number of parallels between our model and *John* are extensive without the persecution component.

In any event, we should note that since we have considered our prayers to be independent from the rest of the *Didache*, we can date them to a milieu contemporaneous with *John*, regardless of the date for Didachistic compilation. There is nothing within them to preclude a date in the latter half of the first century. See and compare p. 19 above.

4.9 -- CHAPTER CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have presented a historical/interpretive model that accounts for the lack of body/blood imagery in *Didache* 9 & 10. We have identified factors that could have prompted a desire for a non-corporal celebration of the eucharist. Furthermore, we have proven our thesis at the beginning of the chapter by articulating a viable correlation between eucharistic accounts of the "New Testament" and the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10 -- this by way of the various words spoken over the elements of cup and bread. The particulars of this correlation have shown how the prayers in *Didache* 9 & 10 could be truly eucharistic in drawing upon a Last Supper tradition, yet without involving any body/blood imagery. Beyond this, we have buttressed the historical feasibility of our model by a number of internal and external evidences.

Although we cannot, in the end, be utterly dogmatic about the historical validity of our model, we suggest that it provides a viable explanation of features in our focal passage, in light of its religious, literary, and historical environments.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have made a lengthy journey with our focal passage in *Didache* 9 and 10. We have paid close attention to its environment in the *Didache* itself, and we have further examined its own character as a distinct unit. Beyond this, we have explored scholastic views on the eucharistic significance of our passage, and have proposed a model for how the prayers in its verses might correlate to more familiar paradigms of the "New Testament."

In the end, our efforts have an intrinsic value, not merely as a scholastic exercise, but also as an engagement -- however limited and/or flawed -- of an important and intriguing text.

And yet, a more significant issue is raised by our work thus far. It may be granted that our final model is speculative, and necessarily must remain so without the benefit of additional primary source material. Nevertheless, in light of the serious ritual and social problems that we have identified concerning body/blood imagery in the eucharist, one naturally turns to ponder the actual Last Supper as celebrated by Jesus himself. Which paradigm more befits a faithful Jewish person in his context: one that introduces symbolic cannibalism; or one that establishes a messianic covenant? The former approach tramples upon the inheritance of Jewish faith and Hebrew scripture, whereas the latter draws upon scriptural imagery and fulfills a burning Jewish hope.

The solution to this dichotomy cannot be resolved so clearly in favor of either paradigm. On the one hand, a body/blood hermeneutic has to reckon with tensions with Jewish convention and d-v-n- revelation, not to mention some manner of dissonance with an enduring blood taboo in the early church itself. On the other hand, a non-corporeal hermeneutic (however more-or-less similar to our final model) has to account for the introduction of body/blood imagery into the ascendant stream of Christian tradition, and for the virtual eclipse of an original eucharistic tradition.

Both paradigms encounter serious challenges, and the issue merits further exploration. But even after we have exhausted the avenues of investigation and debate, we still may be left with unresolved queries.... What were the actual roots of various eucharistic forms? How did early followers of Jesus wrestle with their eucharistic traditions? How did the dynamics between dissonant traditions meet their consummation?

And most of all, in his final meal with his disciples -- what did Jesus do?

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